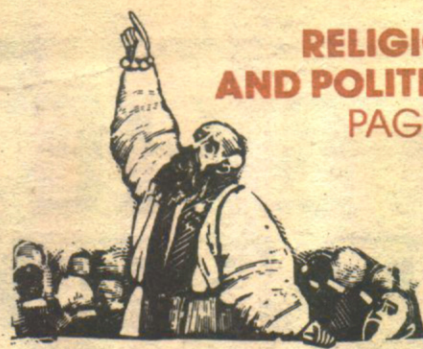


# IN THESE TIMES

RELIGION  
AND POLITICS  
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Vol. 3, No. 16

Mar. 7-13, 1979

70 Cents



## CHICAGO MACHINE SNOWED UNDER

*Challenger Jane Byrne  
wins Democratic  
nomination for mayor.*

Ken Firestone

PLUS

*Socialists have five seats in Ypsilanti Page 5*

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# THE INSIDE STORY

## Is the left always right?

Several weeks ago, a reader complained that I was being too "palsy-walsy" with the right. Perhaps what I have to say here will seem to confirm his views.

After having visited on successive weeks the Conservative Political Action Conference and the national convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), I began to see why the right has been trouncing the left.

The American left is composed of a broad left that includes many organizations tied more or less to organized labor, a socialist left that is supposed to unite the diverse and often conflicting interests of the broad left, and a group of liberals, who travel easily between working class left and corporate concerns.

Liberal politics and economics have largely been discredited, but the broad left has had nowhere else to turn. As a result, conservatives are massacring it on issue after issue.

Nothing illustrates this better than the controversy surrounding the constitutional convention and the balanced budget.

### Defending deficits.

The balanced budget has always had widespread support in this country. This is partly because a household model of economics permeates economic thinking. But it is also because of small-business revulsion at a rising amount of state and federal tax money going to banks, corporations, and wealthy individuals as interest on past debts.

The campaign for a constitutional convention to consider a balanced budget amendment comes when liberal economic solutions have failed. Deficit spending has helped fuel inflation and has not prevented widespread unemployment, even during a period economists label an "upswing." Liberal economists like Walter Heller find themselves reluctant supporters of President Carter's wage-price "guideposts," which failed during the Nixon years, and of covert manipulation of the money supply.

The broad left has largely gone along with the liberals, quarrelling with parts of the Carter approach, but embracing the whole. As protective of the defense budget as of any welfare spending, labor leaders have also defended deficits against the budget balancers.

Meanwhile, conservatives have been able to win public support for the balanced budget as the only credible solution.

### Fighting democracy.

The right is doing even better when the issue becomes the constitutional convention. According to many legal experts, such a convention would be a "deliberative body" that could draw up as many proposals as it wanted and submit those to the states for ratification. It need not limit itself to or approve the balanced budget amendment.

Such a convention could offer labor, minority organizations and feminists the chance they need to present their case to the American people. Right-wingers who oppose the convention do so for this reason. They fear a left-wing version of the Houston women's convention, where feminists were able to win the delegates and the resolutions.

But even socialists, who are supposed to rise above the immediate ebb and flow of the class struggle, have adopted the liberals' hostility toward the convention. They have ceded the composition and agenda of the convention to the right. "I don't want a convention where some screeball gets up and says, 'Let's take out the Fifth Amendment,'" DSOC chair Mike Harrington said.

By taking this position, socialists, labor leaders and liberals show they are afraid of popular democracy, while conservatives are not.

### Creeping elitism.

To make matters worse, the right will probably be able to win this battle for democracy without having to fire a shot. House and Senate liberals, who control the judiciary committees, have already indicated they will block the convention proposal.

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Seeing itself on the downswing, both the broad left and the socialist left have adopted the same attitude towards politics that the right wing had 20 or 30 years ago.

•The left explains its apparent decline by means of conspiratorial models of politics. "What I see," Rep. Ron Dellums told the DSOC convention, "is not the majority of the country moving to the right, but a well-organized minority dominating the political arena." Patricia Ford-Roegner of the Coalition of Public Employees cited a "right-wing conspiracy fueled by corporate dollars."

Such talk tends to ignore reality. While Jesse Helms did raise a \$6 million right-wing war-chest in his November Senate race, other victorious conservatives, like Roger Jepsen in Iowa or Gordon Humphrey in New Hampshire, ran campaigns with less funds and no better organization than their liberal opponents.

Conspiratorial thinking ignores the dilemmas of liberalism. It places the burden of proof on the wrong party. It also encourages a left-wing version of red-baiting. Ford-Roegner approached the subject of the constitutional convention by telling DSOC delegates that Howard Jarvis, the leader of the move, had been a member of the Liberty League.

•The left has abandoned its defense of popular democracy and adopted instead an elitist view of politics. This has not been limited to the left's attitude toward the constitutional convention.

In Minnesota, according to Harry Boyte, Republicans have proposed that the state adopt an initiative and referendum process. Most states adopted the initiative and referendum during the Progressive Era, and mostly because of the pressure from the left.

But, according to Boyte, the Democratic leadership in the state legislature, aided by left-wingers and liberals, has opposed the proposal. In the Farmer-Labor association newspaper, Mary Puff makes the following argument: she rejects "direct voter participation" because it "has handed us many more defeats than it has victories." Before we can profit from initiatives, she says, "we need an enlightenment of so massive a scale of the population that education alone hardly seems prepared to undertake it."

Puff also warns of the "proto-fascist" tendencies afoot in the country, but how are we to describe her tendency? The proto-oligarchic tendency of liberalism or the proto-elitism of the left? Seeing such sentiments expressed by citizens claiming to act in their interests, it is no wonder that many Americans have looked to the right for solace.

—John Judis

## Vietnam diplomat

Vietnamese ambassador to France Vo Van Sung described the Chinese attack on his country as "a real full-scale war of aggression," at a Feb. 19 Paris news conference. Massive Chinese ground forces backed by air power drove many miles into Vietnamese territory at 26 different points along the border, he said.

The ambassador said the attack had been prepared for months in line with "China's great power expansionist policy" hostile to Vietnamese independence. He traced the roots of the attack back to attempts in the early 1960s to create a "Peking-Hanoi-Djakarta axis," which he said fell through when the pro-Peking 1965 coup in Djakarta failed and when Hanoi refused to go along. During the war, he said, Peking leaders used aid to put pressure on Vietnam to become solely dependent on China, and after the war, they used the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia to attack Vietnam and incited the Hoa (Vietnamese residents of Chinese origin) to cause disturbances and emigrate en masse.

The ambassador made it clear that Vietnam consid-

ers the Chinese border attack a continuation of the Cambodian border attacks on Vietnam that started in April 1977, and not as a retaliation for Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia.

Sung indicated willingness to negotiate with Peking once it withdrew its troops from Vietnam. He said there were of course many points of disagreement, in particular the Paracel and Spratley islands, under Vietnamese administration until seized by China.

But he said there was no dispute over the long land frontier between China and Vietnam, which he stressed was "not some vague no man's land," but a precisely delineated border fixed by international agreements and marked by 300 boundary stones.

The ambassador said the question of breaking diplomatic relations had "not arisen" and noted that Sino-Vietnamese relations had a future dimension. This seemed to suggest that Vietnam wants to maintain the possibility of contact with Chinese who do not approve of the current policy. Asked whether he thought there were Chinese who opposed the attack, Sung snapped back: "We are sure of it."

—Diana Johnstone

## Mercy killing for ERA

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) suffered a quiet mercy killing by its friends in a North Carolina Senate committee Feb. 15.

The bill to ratify was killed until the 1981 session after two weeks of frantic lobbying left the ERA several votes short of the majority needed for passage. State Sen. Craig Lawing, floor leader for ERA, decided to put an end to the battle swiftly after learning that opposition leader Julian Allsbrook was trying to force an immediate vote by the full Senate to reveal the ground lost by ERA since 1977.

The basic problem that ERA forces faced was their inability to make inroads in the small-town and rural legislative bloc opposing the amendment, while themselves suffering a net loss of several votes to conservative Republicans in urban areas. In Winston-Salem, a campaign centered on property taxes had displaced an ERA backer with a state leader of the Stop ERA and Right to Life forces.

The week before the ERA died saw a massive show of strength by one of the main forces blocking ERA, the rural fundamentalist churches. Several thousand church members—many of them school children bused in from Christian schools—descended on the legislature bearing signs denouncing ERA, abortion, and state-set academic standards for church schools. Pro-ERA forces in Raleigh found themselves outnumbered five to one.

The abortion issue was debated in a public hearing the next day on whether the state should continue to provide Medicaid funding for abortions. (North Carolina is one of 16 states that chose to provide abortion funds when federal money was shut off by the Hyde Amendment in 1977.)

Pro- and anti-choice forces were about equally represented among the 350 packing the hearing room, and lobbyists for funding were confident they had the votes. Explained Hewitt Rose, an ACLU lobbyist, "With only 80,000 Catholics, North Carolina is paradise compared to other states." While the Protestant fundamentalists oppose abortion, it isn't the same crusade for them as stopping ERA.

The support for abortion funding in the legislature comes from a coalition of pro-choice members in the urban areas and many conservatives. The motive for conservative support was explained by one legislative staff aide: "My representative is probably against abortion except when it means cutting down the number of poor people."

—Bob McMahon

## IN THESE TIMES

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# IN THE NATION

## PRIMARY ELECTIONS

# Chicago Machine Stalled

By Lori Granger

CHICAGO

IT IS WEDNESDAY MORNING IN CITY Hall, the day after the wild primary upset that cost the legendary Chicago Machine the mayor's office for the first time in nearly 50 years.

A shirt-sleeved patronage worker scurrying down the hall spots Machine Alderman Edward Burke grinning with reporters.

The worker takes the cigar out of his mouth. "Hey, Eddie," he calls, "so what do we do now close ranks behind Jane?"

That is the question that echoes through "the Hall" this week as the machine struggles to come to grips with Jane Byrne. Byrne is almost certain to become mayor April 3, facing what most think is only token opposition in the general election from Republican businessman Wallace Johnson.

It would not be the question if any of the previous challengers to the Machine had won.

With Bill Singer, alderman and darling of the people the Machine contemptuously calls "the Lakefront Liberals," there would have been no such question—the Machine would have waited his term out.

With Ald. Roman Pucinski, the Polish powerhouse who tried for the spot two years ago after Richard J. Daley died, ranks would have closed without much discussion, for Roman is one of them.

All that is hypothetical now. Singer's energetic and well-financed campaign against Daley in 1975 got him just short of 30 percent of the vote. After Daley's death, Michael A. Bilandic, who comes from Daley's neighborhood of Bridgeport and chaired the powerful City Council Finance Committee, maneuvered himself into a clear hold on the mayor's office. No black candidate in this heavily black city has ever had a prayer.

But Byrne, a northwest-sider from an Irish family, a Machine insider turned against the Machine, was neither fish nor fowl—and she forged a neither-fish-nor-fowl coalition.

"Jane Byrne had the kind of appeal that made the white clinics in the southwest and northwest wards join hands with the heart of the black community and even those terrible lakefront liberals," says Don Rose, Byrne's campaign manager.

### A Daley protege.

A Daley protege who served as Daley's consumer sales commissioner, Byrne did not get mainline liberal political support. The Independent Voters of Illinois and Independent Precinct Organization denied her their endorsement, which would have meant precinct work help, because of her support of the patronage system. Independents like Ald. Martin Oberman still retain some fear that it could be "the same old Machine only with Jane Byrne at its head."

Now 43, Byrne caught Daley's eye as a campaign worker for John F. Kennedy in 1960. She served as party co-chair for Chicago and Cook County women—a post most feminists hardly think qualifies her as a women's rights activist. In fact, she has been careful to avoid a women's issues campaign, saying she hopes her political successes will serve as examples to other women, but avoids further involvement.

While Daley was alive, Byrne would hear no criticism of her boss. That's still



Jane Byrne grips the hand of a subway passenger late in the day before the polls close in her last-ditch effort to capture the Democratic Party nomination for mayor.

true. Daley inspired discipline and loyalty, she says in her typically humorless delivery.

It was after his death that the feisty Byrne found herself embroiled in a public shouting match with the new mayor. He had reached a secret deal with Chicago's favored taxicab companies, Checker and Yellow, to "grease" passage of an unjustified cab fare increase through the City Council, she charged, releasing

reams of material to the press and to the state's attorney and U.S. attorney.

Bilandic acted quickly. He fired Byrne, calling her disloyal. The case petered out, with no indictments brought. The U.S. attorney officially closed his investigation several weeks ago.

Byrne's announcement that she would run for mayor 11 months ago brought smiles to most faces.

"I don't feel anything at all," Cook

Country Democratic Central Committee chairman George Dunne said when reporters asked him for a reaction. Octogenarian ward boss Vito Marzullo quoted Daley's earlier rejoinder to a similar question: "It's a free country and anybody can run." Bill Singer said he would not endorse her.

One of the very few who didn't laugh was Don Rose, veteran of literally hun-

Continued on page 6.

## Ypsilanti nominates fifth Socialist

By Eric Jackson

THE VICTORY OF DEMOCRATIC Socialist Caucus member Jerome Strong in the Feb. 19 Ypsilanti, Mich., primary election will give that city's socialists a fifth seat on the 11-member city council. Strong will be the unopposed Democratic candidate in Ypsilanti's mostly black first ward in the April general election.

In addition to Strong, Democratic Socialists Steven Hayworth and David Nicholson are unopposed in the city's Eastern Michigan University area wards. Terms of two other socialist council members, Peter Murdock and Harold Baize, run to 1980.

Strong, who ran unsuccessfully twice before, tripled his 1978 vote total this time to win narrowly. His opponent, mayor pro-tem John Bass, is a pillar of the local black establishment, enjoying the support of the powerful United Auto Workers, the mayor, and several influential members of the black clergy. The vote was a stunning defeat to the ruling city council coalition, and assures the election of Ypsilanti's first black socialist to the council.

A relatively large, well-financed and diverse coalition worked for Strong. Blacks, whites, low-income public housing residents and middle class homeowners, liberal Democrats, Democratic Socialists, Republicans, Communists and indepen-

dents joined forces against the Democratic establishment.

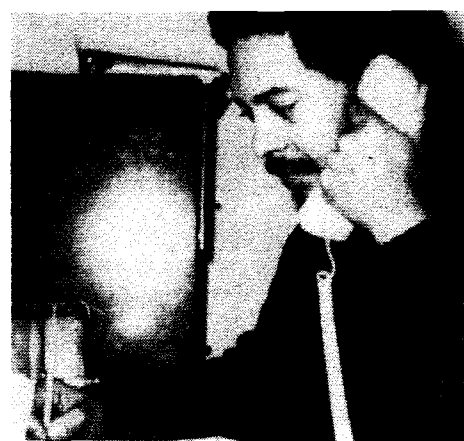
Of the three precincts in ward one, two are almost all black and one is 80 percent white. The two black precincts went to the establishment's man by only a small margin. In the mostly white precinct, Strong won by a vote of 68-5, giving him a vote in the ward as a whole of 190-180.

The campaign was issue-oriented. Strong called for improved housing, better bus service and different budget priorities. Socialism was not a campaign issue, but class and ideological divisions were sharp. Criticism of city building inspection, for example, was necessarily criticism of the mayor pro-tem's brother, the chief building inspector, and criticism of the city's pro-landlord bias. Similarly, criticism of the city budget was criticism of a Chamber of Commerce-oriented budget that ignored the needs of the poor.

A research analyst for the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, Jerome Strong is a former auto worker and a Vietnam veteran. He is president of the Perry School PTO. He chairs the county's mental health task force.

Strong's victory has been the latest in a string of socialist gains over the past year. At the Democratic state convention Feb. 17-18, Democratic Socialists Bob Alexander and Strong won over their UAW opposition for state central committee delegate and alternate.

Last August, socialist Zolton Ferency carried Ypsilanti in his losing bid for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.



Jerome Strong

On that same day, DSC elected a large block of precinct delegates. Also, a DSC-supported state senate candidate beat Ypsilanti mayor George Goodman in two-thirds of the city's precincts.

Earlier in the summer, socialist Jinx Newton was elected chair of the city Democratic Party, with socialists capturing three out of five ward chair positions. Between the election of city party officers and the August primary, DSC member Steve Hayworth was appointed to fill a city council vacancy, bringing the number of socialists on the city council to four.

With the Strong victory, a socialist sweep of the two university wards and the re-election of Murdock in next year's city elections would bring a six-vote socialist majority to power in Ypsilanti's municipal government.

Eric Jackson is a former DSC Ypsilanti City Council member, 1974-1978.



## AGRIBUSINESS

# Square tomatoes bring round figures

By Larry Remer

DAVIS, CALIF.

**H**AVE YOU BEEN WONDERING lately why the tomatoes in your salad seem tough and rubbery? Well, you can thank the research arm of the University of California. At the behest of California agribusiness, the university has been exploring ways to mechanize agriculture.

Not only has the university obligingly developed a machine to pick tomatoes, it also developed a harder tomato strain for the mechanical picker to pick—a strain that offers the ultimate for mechanical harvesting and sorting: a square tomato.

Well, now somebody is fighting back on behalf of consumers who are finding square tomatoes in their supermarkets and on behalf of farm laborers, tens of thousands of whom have been displaced from their jobs by the University's mechanization program.

"University officials are spending tax monies on projects that benefit a handful of private interest—including themselves," declared Paul Barnett, spokesperson for the California Agrarian Action Project.

Based in Davis—a university town on the edge of California's vast agricultural valleys—the Agrarian Action is a public interest think-tank that monitors agribusiness, California's single large industry. For the past several years, the Project has been waging a campaign to expose the social cost of the agricultural mechanization research undertaken by the university.

Last month the Agrarian Action Project made headlines with a lawsuit against the University of California Regents that charged that several members of that body profited from the university's pursuit of agricultural mechanization research through large personal holdings in agribusiness firms. Co-plaintiffs in the suit are 19 central valley farm laborers, who are demanding that the proceeds from royalty payments for labor-saving farm equipment developed in University labs be utilized to retrain displaced workers and find them new jobs.

## Basic issue.

The suit resurrects a basic issue about the social role of the university and its relationship to California agribusiness. The University of California maintains several research centers that specialize in agriculture. The largest is the Agricultural Experimentation Station, a sprawling research operation with a \$52 million annual budget, a staff of 2000 researchers and technicians, and three campus lab complexes augmented by nine field stations.

The Station conducts research under contract to large agribusiness concerns and manufacturers of chemicals, seeds, and fertilizers. Research grants come from Shell, du Pont, Exxon, Eli Lilly, Upjohn, and Gallo to name a few sources of revenue. For corporate donors to university programs the grants are often tax deductible.

Barnett charges that a principal goal of this vast research apparatus is to "manufacture mechanical strikebreakers." In 1970, after the United Farm Workers struck the lettuce fields near Salinas, the Grower, Shipper and Vegetable Association from that area gave the University of California \$15,000 as a research grant to develop a mechanical lettuce harvester. During the 1973 San Joaquin melon strike, a mechanical harvester developed in the university's laboratories appeared in the fields.

The social and economic costs of agricultural mechanization have been severe. In growing tomatoes, for example, the use of a tomato harvester developed by the university changed the tomato industry from entirely non-mechanized in 1963

## University of California officials spend tax monies on projects that benefit the state's agribusiness interests, including six Regents.

to 99.9 percent mechanized by 1970. Although tomato tonnage increased 51 percent, the number of workers involved in planting, caring for, and harvesting tomatoes dropped from more than 50,000 to less than 18,000.

Moreover, because of the high capital costs, the ability of small family farms to keep pace with their larger, corporate-

backed neighbors has been severely undercut. In 1963, there were more than 4,000 family-run tomato farms in California. By 1973, there were less than 600.

### Tomatoes taste bad.

To add insult to injury, the process has made tomatoes less tasty and less nutritious. To accommodate the new tomato-



Rufino Contreras' widow and child grieve at the graveside of the slain farm worker.

## Chavez asks boycott as violence erupts

CALEXICO, CAL.

Two weeks after the murder of United Farm Worker striker Rufino Contreras and after a week of relative quiet in the lettuce fields following his massive funeral, violence again erupted, leading Cesar Chavez to call for a national boycott of Chiquita brand bananas.

The move was designed to pressure United Brands, the parent company of Sun Harvest, Inc., one of the ten large lettuce companies in the Imperial Valley currently being struck by the UFW.

After six weeks, both sides are holding firm in the lettuce strike. UFW strikers have been subjected repeatedly by violence instigated by sheriff's deputies and private security guards hired by the growers. Last week, a particularly violent confrontation erupted when deputies and security guards lobbed tear gas into a crowd of 2000 UFW pickets who had surrounded a struck field where scab

crews were working. Wielding clubs, police waded into the crowd and in the two-hour free-for-all that followed, three strikers and two deputies were injured.

Cesar Chavez immediately condemned the "police riot" and chastized Imperial County Sheriff Oren Fox. "The unprovoked attack on peaceful pickets is but one sign of the pro-employer prejudice that characterizes your conduct as agent of the growers," declared Chavez.

Spokesmen for the growers again called for Gov. Brown to send in the National Guard so that the lettuce crop can be harvested before it rots in the field. But it seemed unlikely that Brown would use the Guard in so obvious a strike-breaking manner.

The UFW reiterated its commitment to stay with the strike for the long haul. "The growers have money," said UFW spokesman Marc Grossman, "but we have time."

—Larry Remer

picking machines, scientists at U.C.-Davis developed a "harder tomato." "It tastes like rubber," noted one California legislator during hearings last year. It's also less nutritious, with many essential vitamins and minerals lost in the growing process. Nevertheless, the price of tomatoes has increased more rapidly than other foodstuffs.

Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers (UFW) have railed against the trend towards mechanization and asked the state legislature to do something about the problem. Chavez states that mechanical harvesting equipment will eliminate 100,000 of California's 250,000 farm labor jobs during the next decade.

The suit against the Regents is unique in its concept and far-ranging in its scope. It asks for judicial relief that would:

- Enjoin the university from agricultural mechanization research that "provides special economic benefits" to large businesses with no valid public purpose;

- Prohibit U.C. Regents from "participating in or attempting to influence" research in which they have "an economic self-interest";

- Establishment of a fund to utilize royalties from licensing agreements and patents earned from mechanization projects sponsored by the University to retrain and employ displaced farm workers.

### Regents big owners.

Though the Regents have failed to make full disclosure of their financial holdings, the Agrarian Action Project found that six of the 14-member Board of Regents hold vast farm acreage. These include:

- Regent Edward W. Carter is a member of the Board of Directors of Del Monte Corporation and has served on that agribusiness giant's finance committee. Del Monte is the world's largest grower, food processor and packer, with 1977 sales of more than \$1.4 billion and assets of more than \$800 million. Carter owns 3000 shares of Del Monte stock.

- Regent William French Smith is a member of the board of Pacific Lighting, parent company for Blue Goose Growers which sold \$30 million worth of California citrus in 1976;

- Regent John H. Lawrence owns 1801 acres of tomato farm land in Merced County where university-developed tomato harvesters pick the crop;

- Regent William A. Wilson owns several citrus ranches, including a 668-acre tract in partnership with Regent Smith;

- Regent William K. Coblenz is the managing director of three foreign investment trusts—ASA Farms, Mattot, and Ubachi—that buy and sell farmland for profit and last year harvested more than \$1 million in tomatoes;

- Chairman of the Board of Regents Robert O. Reynolds has farm holdings in several California counties, including a partnership with the state's largest grower, J.G. Bowell.

CTLA charges that the Regents have still failed to make full disclosure of their holdings as required by the state Fair Political Practices Commission and that even more serious conflicts of interest will be revealed when such disclosure is finally forced.

Not since mechanization of the cotton and tobacco fields of the deep South, which propelled a whole generation of American blacks toward new homes in northern ghettos, has technological change so dramatically affected a large segment of our society. Chicanos are leaving the fields for the cities in droves. And the flood of Mexican immigration—both with and without documents—has been heading more and more for urbanized areas like L.A., San Diego and San Francisco, as well as cities like Denver and Chicago.

The most politically explosive issue brought by agricultural mechanization—the unredressed grievances of Chicanos, California's largest minority group—promises to reach fruition in the '80s. ■



## CLEVELAND ELECTION

"We've united blacks and ethnics on economic issues. No one else has been able to do that."



Steve Cogan

## Voters back Kucinich against business

By Roldo Bartimole

CLEVELAND

**F**OR THE FOURTH TIME IN LESS than two years, Mayor Dennis Kucinich scored a victory with the voters despite enormous establishment opposition as Clevelanders elected to hike the city income tax and retain the city's municipal electric system (Muny), both by two-to-one votes.

In a dramatic turnabout and rebuke to the business community, voters—who polls showed a month ago voting 70 to 30 percent to sell the light system—chose to dump the proposed sale by a 69,957 to 38,817 margin. Retention of the 46,000-customer Muny also means that the city will pursue a \$325 million anti-trust suit against the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. (CEI), that was waiting in the wings to buy the system.

The income tax increase, that will raise \$25 million in the remaining ten months of 1979, marked the first time Cleveland's largely working class voters raised the tax themselves, increasing the non-graduated income tax from 1 to 1.5 percent. The vote was 74,402 to 34,586. Three times during the 1970s voters have rejected such tax hikes.

"The people of Cleveland have written the last chapter in CEI's monopoly dream book," said a jubilant Kucinich when he appeared before some 600 supporters election night at a gathering that included a broad spectrum of the community, including black activists from the 1960s, young white left activists and the leader of a local anti-busing group.

"What we have done is of great significance. We've united ethnics and black people on economic issues. No one in Cleveland or in the country has been able to do that and that's really the position of the future, because black people and white people can get together on economic issues," Kucinich told reporters.

Kucinich has pushed adamantly for co-operation among blacks and whites on

economic issues while refusing to be drawn into support for such social issues (school busing) that he believes don't have support in his white ethnic vote base.

### Intense clash.

Both issues were placed on the ballot after Cleveland defaulted on \$15.5 million of short-term notes last Dec. 15, when Cleveland Trust, Ohio's largest bank with \$4 billion in assets, refused to refinance its \$5 million in city notes. Five other banks followed suit, though none has moved to collect.

The vote test became an intense and open clash between Cleveland's strong corporate and private sector and the public sector. Business leaders did have the support of Council President George Forbes, under indictment for taking kickbacks from carnival operators but still a popular leader in the black community.

It was the 32-year-old mayor's slashing, unrelentless attacks upon CEI and Cleveland Trust specifically and Cleveland's corporate leaders in general that helped turn the tide. CEI, meanwhile, gave life to the mayor's portrait of CEI as a corrupt, arrogant enemy by seeking, during the campaign, a 12 percent general rate hike on customers and a 25 percent increase in Muny wholesale rates and becoming involved in a dispute with suburbs over higher street lighting rates. The company also angered many by placing liens on city property, idling equipment and stopping sales of land that the city wants to peddle for income.

Kucinich charged that CEI and Cleveland Trust conspired to force the city into default as punishment for his refusal to sell Muny. He backed up his charges by noting that the bank has three interlocking directors, owns 700,000 shares of CEI and operates a \$70 million CEI pension fund and other connections.

The mayor made his private meeting on default day with M. Brock Weir, chairman of Cleveland Trust, a major campaign issue, claiming that Weir offered to refinance the notes and lead a sales campaign for \$50 million in city bonds if

the mayor would agree to sell Muny. A council member close to the banks confirmed the offer.

Kucinich charged the bank with "trying to buy off an entire city." He led a drive to remove funds from the bank, saying, "I don't want my clean money in this dirty bank." Weir, who denies the offer, retaliated, telling reporters, "We had been kicked in the teeth for six months. On Dec. 15 we decided to kick back."

### Ralph Nader helps.

Kucinich skillfully parlayed his attacks and CEI's mistakes with aid from consumer activist Ralph Nader who helped gain the attention of federal regulatory agencies. Presently, the Justice Department, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Reserve System are investigating charges against the bank and utility. A congressional bank oversight committee also will take a look at Kucinich's allegations.

Business leaders claim that the vote was not a repudiation of them nor a big victory for Kucinich. One said: "He [Kucinich] is appealing to a lower socio-economic class, and they represent a pretty large segment of the Cleveland constituency. But the wisdom of the decision [to keep Muny] is yet to be determined."

Business leaders, who wanted the mayor to impose an unvoted tax increase, are expected to retaliate with help from Gov. James Rhodes. Business-backed legislation to establish a controlling board that would usurp the mayor's power over finances has been introduced in the state legislature.

Kucinich wants the state to help by purchasing city bonds and appointing a fiscal agent to oversee city spending, but he warned Rhodes after the victory that he would strenuously resist a state takeover.

"I'll go to every city of this state and rally the people on the concept of home rule. They're not going to destroy home rule under the pretense of saving a city which has already saved itself." He cautioned Gov. Rhodes to read the election

result. "He knows how to count," said the mayor.

### Cleveland has top 25.

If the banks and Rhodes insist upon a control board Kucinich says he will redeem the \$15 million notes by selling Cleveland bonds to small investors in denominations as low as \$100. "We'll save ourselves," he said.

Cleveland's close-knit and powerful corporate community, that boasts 25 of *Fortune's* top 500 corporations, more than any city but New York and Chicago, has been accustomed to getting its way at City Hall. It has been constantly at odds with Kucinich during his ten-year political career.

He won office two years ago by campaigning vigorously against tax abatements for downtown construction, a method of financing private development with public funds dear to the hearts of business leaders. Corporate interests tried to help remove the mayor from office last August by contributing more than \$60,000 to an unsuccessful recall attempt. Kucinich won by only some 250 votes.

The bitter campaigning has divided not only the community but the news media. TV reporter Bob Franken quit after his station retracted his report of a bank chairman's declaration that the bank would push the city into default as a measure to insure Kucinich's defeat this fall.

Another reporter, Bob Holden of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, was taken off his beat after being assigned to produce a series on the Muny-CEI dispute when management decided that he might be too aggressive in his coverage. The move precipitated picketing of the newspaper by Guild members who decried the censorship. Holden subsequently resigned.

Ironically, the series of stories on the CEI-Muny dispute written by Holden's replacements have been credited with helping to change many people's minds on the fate of the Muny system. The series revealed a history of CEI perfidy involving the city's system, including previously

*Continued on page 6.*



# Byrne Takes Chicago

Continued from page 3.

dreds of anti-Machine, anti-Daley campaigns. Rose has worked under Republican and Democratic banners, but usually he's dubbed an "independent strategist" by local political writers.

[He has written on Chicago politics for **IN THESE TIMES**, and regards himself as a man of the left.]

At first, Rose wouldn't say he was for Byrne. He noted several areas of disagreement, particularly reverence for Daley and the patronage system. But he did say, "It'll be very interesting. She just might pull it off. She'll get support the independents have never had."

Byrne had no organization. She had few precinct workers. She had so little in the way of financial resources that her brother is said to have taken out a second mortgage on his house to help swing \$75,000 in loans for her. And that wasn't from a Chicago bank, Byrne notes. "Chicago banks weren't about to lend me money," she says. Byrne collected about \$110,000, including her brother's loans. The Machine spent more than \$1 million by most accounts.

She had so little business support that when a local TV station tried to analyze the business angle in the campaign she offered her brother, a corporation lawyer, as representative of her business support. Bilandic, with a raft of leaders to choose from, offered Robert Abboud, chairman of the First National Bank.

## Weather was on her side.

But Byrne had one thing on her side, according to George Dunne. "It seems like the elements were backing Jane. We had the snow—and then on election day we had beautiful weather."

We had the snow, all right—a winter total approaching 100 inches, compared to a yearly average of less than 40 in the past. It stalled buses, buried cars, trapped the elderly in their houses—and brought the city of Chicago, the city that works, to a halt.

Bilandic went on television after the first major blizzard in early January and said he had the situation under control. He didn't.

When he directed drivers to take their cars to cleared-out school parking lots to leave the streets open for snowplowing,



Mayoral candidate Byrne listens sympathetically to a citizen complain about the snow still piled outside her house a month after the big blizzard.

*It was the defection of the Southwest and northwest wards—the white ethnic wards in Chicago—that really struck at the heart of the Machine. With blacks voting 68 percent for her and the lakefront going heavily for her, Byrne couldn't lose.*

it turned out the lots hadn't been cleared. Arterial streets remained blocked for days—and the city never has tried to clear the snow from many residential streets. For the first time in memory, major portions of the CTA elevated train system went out of operation for weeks.

Bilandic demoted one snow command chief, but the *Wall Street Journal* disclosed that the new head had mob connections. The CTA announced it was going to skip elevated train stops in inner city black neighborhoods to keep the trains running through to outer stops serving white people.

The media discovered that a former deputy mayor had been paid \$90,000 to write a largely inane snow clearance plan. Chicago's press, in a stunning exercise of pack journalism, diligently dug out another \$160,000 in similar secret contracts to the same fellow—and even more to similarly connected former city hallers.

"She was a beneficiary of circumstances—she was in the right place at the right time," Dunne said mournfully after the primary.

It was a "pissed off" vote, Rose ad-

mits, that finally forged the coalition he's been working to make for years. The black vote, traditionally Machine controlled, went 67 percent for Byrne. City-wide, 59 percent of registered voters went to the polls, compared to a projected 44 percent, the second largest turnout in a mayoral primary since 1939.

The Lakefront wards voted heavily for Byrne and for independent aldermanic candidates, but they've been going against the Machine without causing it much discomfort for years.

It was the defection in the southwest and northwest wards—the white ethnic Machine base—that really struck at the heart of the Machine. "Mike Bilandic comes from a working-class background like you—he hasn't had it easy," Burke exhorted the precinct captains at the traditional pre-election pep rally. But the Machine appeal to the working class whites didn't work against Byrne. Even before the snow, they were angered by deterioration of their neighborhoods and city hall neglect.

Rose seemed as stunned as anyone by the upset. "It wasn't my genius—I just

watched the numbers come in." But the former Daley foe did run a good steer-to-the wind campaign that ironically featured Mayor Daley's voice in commercials.

Rose bristled when asked whether Byrne, with her coalition of white ethnics, blacks and liberals, can run Chicago. "Byrne is tough and honest, and her intelligence will emerge in the next four years," he said. As for the coalition, "Do you mean to tell me that a coalition from the entire city can't govern, that only a clique from Bridgeport can run the city of Chicago?"

On election night, after she had won, Byrne said she was a "populist," who traced her political career back to John Kennedy. She also admonished aldermen to begin serving their constituents and "not just big business."

By Thursday, the olive branches had started to appear.

"I'm a team player," said a shaken Ed Burke. "The organization is greater than the individual."

"I seem to have the ability to work with anyone," Dunne said as he sat in his office, waiting for the phone to ring. ■

# Kucinich wins big

Continued from page 5.

suppressed information about CEI attempts to damage the light system by price-fixing efforts and by providing inadequate interconnections to Muni, which buys all its power from CEI. The inadequate interconnections caused Muni blackouts, after which CEI would attempt to lure customers from the city.

Kucinich used the special symbolism that Muni holds for old ethnics and progressive people. The system was started by Mayor Tom Johnson at the turn of the century. Johnson, once a monopolist himself, became mayor and turned his efforts to fighting monopolies. Kucinich models himself as a modern-day Johnson.

## "Monopolies control."

Campaign literature distributed house to house, despite the bitter cold, by Kucinich supporters showed a photo cover of the light plant with Johnson's admonition to Clevelanders: "I believe in municipal ownership of all public service monopolies...because if you do not own them they will in time own you. They will rule your politics, corrupt your institutions and finally destroy your liberties."

While Kucinich campaigners made their traditional and effective trek through Cleveland's white and black neighborhoods, the business community relied on a more than \$100,000 media campaign in an attempt to portray Muni as "a lemon" and "A clunker."

As has been typical of Cleveland elections, race entered the campaign from both sides. In a letter to a public housing official, Kucinich objected to low-cost construction because, he said, the new residents (most observers felt he meant blacks) would hurt the "social fabric" of the community.

Kucinich's opponents stated that the income tax receipts would be used for police protection of court-ordered busing, now delayed pending Supreme Court review.

Kucinich went out of his way in his post-election speeches to stress that his coalition involved both blacks and whites and his campaign staff reflected that view as did the vote on both issues. Kucinich made strong gains in black wards compared to the recall last August.

Kucinich's success in translating community anger and resentment into votes

by focusing attention on the business community as a source of urban problems may be picked up as a strategy by other young politicians, particularly in larger, deteriorating cities. Kucinich has given strong visibility to the issue of "shadow government," the control exerted by non-elected institutions, that often makes

important urban decisions on the basis of self-interest.

His promise to take his message to cities throughout the state ensures the spread of his views in Ohio and is possibly a sign of his ambition for higher office, either a run for governor in four years or for the Senate against John Glenn in two years. ■

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## ARMS BAZAAR

## Demonstrators scare off arms sellers

By John S. Appel

CHICAGO

**T**HE MERCHANTS OF DEATH came, they saw, but they did not conquer. In fact, they withdrew after suffering a major self-inflicted public relations defeat. They did themselves in without even realizing it. "Defense Technology and Weapons Exposition, opened Feb. 18.

Even before the seminars and exhibits opened at the O'Hare International Exposition Center in Rosemont, Ill., about half the 100 originally announced exhibitors, including Boeing Aerospace, GTE Automatic Electric, and Rolls-Royce, had withdrawn after adverse publicity.

A coalition of 50 civic, labor, religious and peace organizations began its efforts to close down the exhibition in August. During December, letters were sent to each of the corporations planning to participate in the arms bazaar, asking them to withdraw.

Between 3000 and 4000 protesters came to demonstrate outside the exhibit hall during the conference. In a series of demonstrations, including some civil disobedience, 21 were arrested, but the protesters continued until the show ended on Feb. 21.

The official exposition program announcing the conference said a participant will "join thousands of procurement officers and defense policy makers from throughout the free world." But according to the conference's management, only about 450 or 500 individuals had registered by the fourth day. By Tuesday morning, the third day, several exhibitors who were there earlier had left.

High-level defense experts came from 35 countries in the Mideast, Africa, Europe, Latin America and Asia. The Egyptian, South Korean and Brazilian delegations were especially large. Russians, Rumanians and Yugoslavians were also represented.

#### Peaceniks "manipulated" media.

David Harvey, managing editor of *Defense and Foreign Affairs* (co-sponsor of the exhibition with *Electronic Warfare/Defense Electronics*) stated in an interview that "the media were shamelessly manipulated by the peace movement here in Chicago."

The sponsors of the exhibition, however, never permitted the popular press into the exhibit area, thus preventing what might have been a more balanced coverage of the events.

The exhibitors had been promised that the non-trade press would not be able to attend, and the managers stuck rigidly by their original commitment. The general public was also barred from the entire exposition. Harvey observed that "the sad thing is that they [the protesters] had an effect on a lot of exhibitors who would have been here. They became frightened." He deplored the hypocrisy of the withdrawn exhibitors.

"Their managements have taken the view that they do not want to get involved in a possibly contentious arms bazaar, even though they themselves will go to the Paris Air Show, the Army show in Washington and show their guns and missiles very happily." Harvey concluded that "we may well think next time of finding another country. We've got a number of sites under consideration." Future such conferences, he explained, probably will not include displays of weapons but rather only offer seminars in order to avoid adverse publicity.

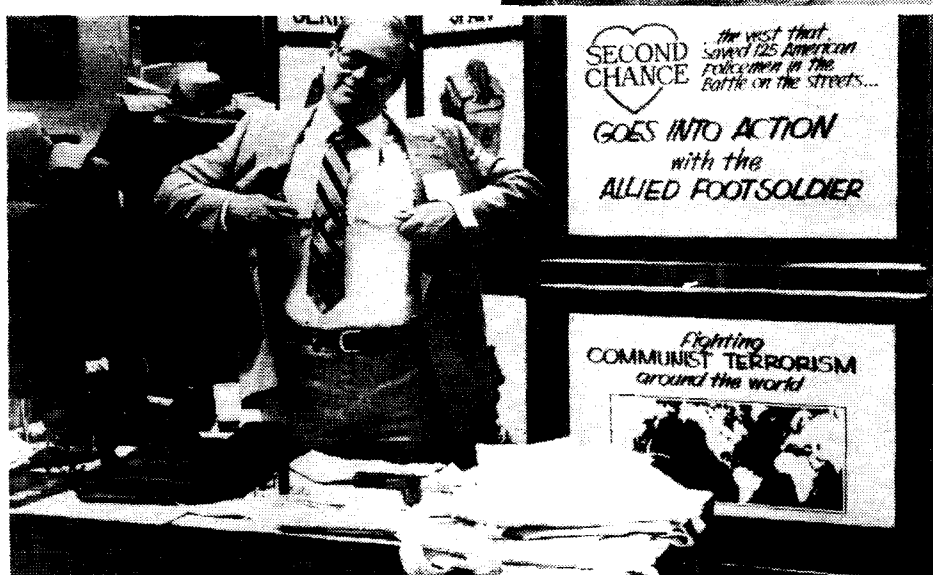
The opening seminar Tuesday, "Third World Defense production: A Multi-Billion Dollar Phenomenon," looked at some of the motives behind the decision to create home-based defense industries in developing countries. *Defense and Foreign Affairs* publisher and editor, Gregory R. Copley, stated that Israel's "nuclear capacity, though never officially confirmed, is now virtually taken for granted."

The prospects for American companies to help develop indigenous defense industries was a common theme throughout the conference. Participants were told they could enable poor countries to enjoy the benefits of "industrialization."

In a workshop entitled "Africa: Changing Geopolitics; Growing Markets," Kenya and the Ivory Coast were noted as especially fertile areas for such efforts. A major thrust of the discussion was how the U.S. could sell more arms to Africa. The threat of embargoes and the constraints imposed by the recently enacted Arms Export Control Act were carefully reviewed. Retired U.S. Air Force Lt. Col. Mark E. Berent said that the Act suggested that "we are our own worst enemy."

He observed that the "easiest way for both sides to get into trouble is to try to pay somebody off—a guarantee for the corrupt whores of a country. For example, if governments tolerate such payoffs, it means that one person can be bought

**Recent advances in technology will make it possible for armies to fight around the clock.**



by the one who is the highest bidder. So you end up buying something that may not be best for your own country because it puts the most money into some individual's pocket." Such is the integrity of the merchants of death.

#### Mideast big buyer.

At a seminar entitled "Defense Electronics: Where Is Technology Leading," George A. Neranchi, manager of International Marketing at GTE Sylvania (whose company pulled out of the exhibit), discussed the composition and structure of the electronic defense international markets that are 90 percent in the Mideast and Europe. "Basically the market is an aircraft-driven market with fighter and attack aircraft accounting for 65 percent of the dollars expended. It is running at \$750 million a year of which the U.S. sells about 40 percent."

The prospects for future business are considered excellent. The market will grow considerably during the next few years because 750 aircraft (manufactured in the U.S., Britain, France and Germany) are now on order, which will require radar homing and warning devices and other active and passive electronic defense systems.

Neranchi pointed out that "there are quite a few customers in the wings" who want to buy the 140 General Dynamics F-16 fighters originally earmarked for Iran. "There will be no problem placing that order: probably Spain, Greece and Turkey. They have been knocking on our doors." Participants in the seminar also noted that Mexico, Guatemala and Morocco are each trying to buy U.S. fighter jets for the first time.



Above: Demonstrator at arms bazaar. Left: "Blow the shit out of you," arms salesman Richard Davis demonstrates his bullet-proof vest.

tary night vision and laser markets, their research, development, procurement and support, will total over \$9 billion.

Representatives from Ramo, Inc., of Nashville, Tenn., exhibited a new night vision telescope designed specifically for use with the .50 caliber M2 machine gun.

Salesmen from Rank Precision Industries of England displayed a heavy weapon night sight designed to be fitted to battalion anti-tank weapons. The SS30 sells for about \$30,000. It enables large caliber weapon crews to locate, identify and engage targets ten kilometers away in total darkness without giving their own position away. Spokesmen for both companies indicated that the South Korean delegation expressed great interest in their products.

Second Chance Hardcorps Body Armor of Salt Lake, Mich., represented by Richard Davis, was very proud of the many lives already saved in the law enforcement community by their product. The lightweight vests they had on exhibit supposedly will stop the standard rifle round or machinegun bullets. It is allegedly an excellent way to keep your men alive, especially against a war machine such as the Soviet Union, whose army outnumbered ours four to one.

#### "Life is cheap."

During an interview about potential markets, Davis noted to a representative of a trade publication that in Asian countries such as China and India, "life is cheap and they tend not to go, as the Western first-world countries do, for something where they put more training into a man and consider him more valuable."

When asked if he found any interest among the South Korean delegates, Davis said, "I am meeting with a gook right now." The back of Davis' business card flippantly states: "Revised Miranda: You have the right to shoot first. However, if you choose to shoot, any shot you fire can and will be used as an excuse to blow the shit out of you." Thus, men unthinkingly continue playing with their toys of death for glory and profit.

David E. Shamp, president of Engineering Services International of Washington, D.C., (an arms broker who works by commission while selling arms to Arab countries in the Middle East), noted in an interview after the "Defense Electronics" seminar that "a company in the U.S. is lucky to make a 10 percent profit; most make 3 to 5 percent. In a country like Egypt, if you don't make 30 percent you shouldn't be in business."

Rear Admiral Julian Lake, U.S.N., retired, who is currently a consultant to the defense industry, spoke at a seminar entitled, "Naval Electronic Warfare/Electronic Counter Measures: Survival at Sea in the 1980s."

In a thorough technical review, he discussed the relevant elements of naval electronic warfare including the following requirements for offensive operations: surveillance command and controls, communications, identification, and targeting. Other seminars dealt with the following topics: "Camouflage Systems: A Modern Approach to Ancient Tactics," "Terrorism: A Major Strategic Factor," "Fighter Aircraft Developments: The Market and Technology," "The Middle East: Geopolitics, Resources and Markets," "Anti-Submarine Warfare," and "Labor and Defense in the 1980s."

#### They'll fight 24 hours a day.

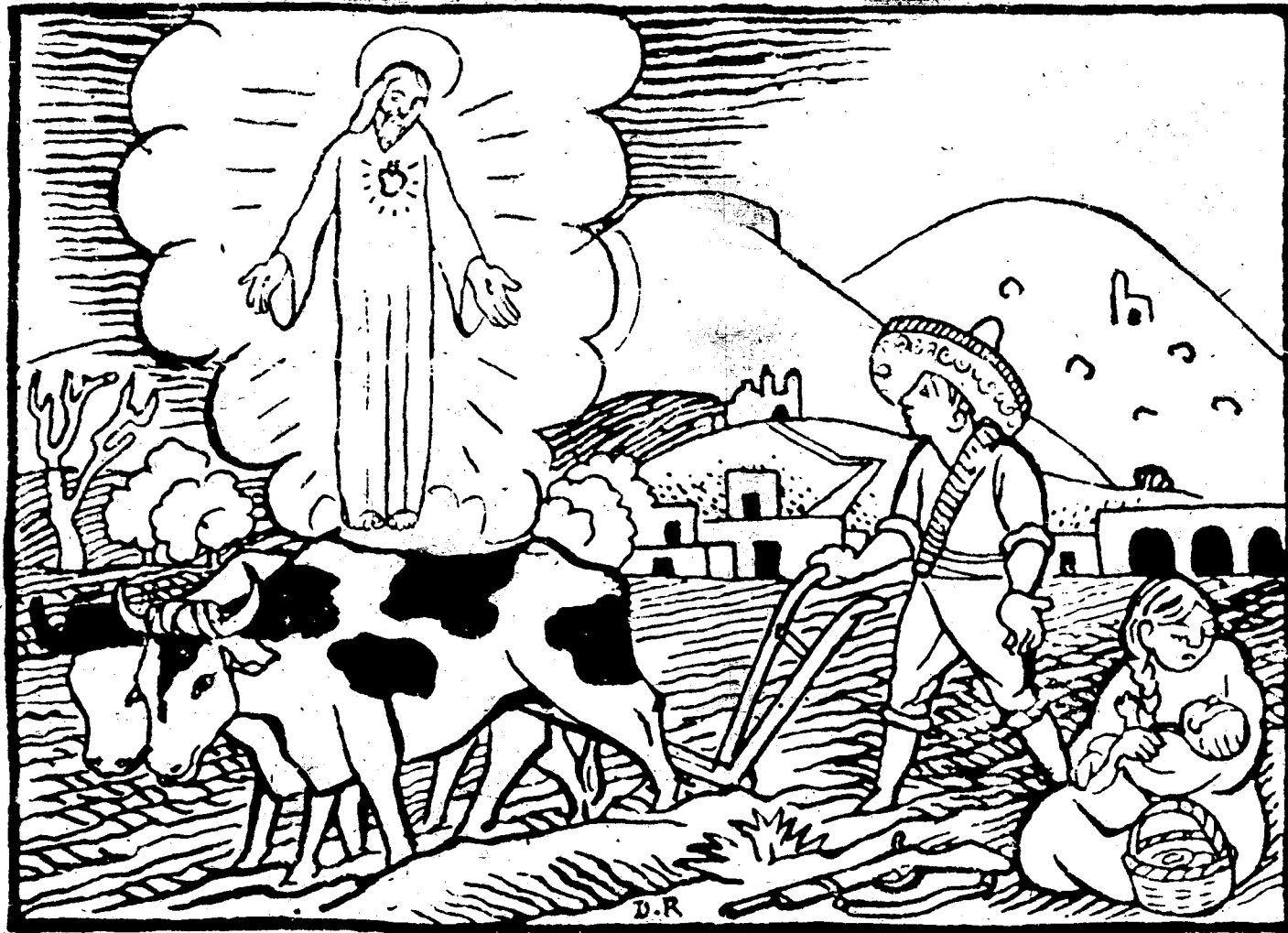
Recent advances in military infrared and electro-optics technology are having a large impact around the world. Armed forces will soon be capable of fighting around the clock. To defense companies, this means big business.

Industry analysts forecast that, over the next five years the tactical U.S. mili-



## IN THE WORLD

An early Diego Rivera drawing depicts the association between Christ and agrarian reform



## LATIN AMERICA

## Puebla failed radicals...

By Cedric Belfrage

GUERNAVACA, MEXICO

THE VISIT OF THE NEW-STYLE Polish Pope, to open the Latin American bishops' conference (CELAM) at Puebla, was a super-happening that brought more Mexicans out into the streets than anything since the 1910 revolution. The

thousands of words he spoke here are unlikely to have much effect on things to come: more reactionary than progressive, they may reasonably be appraised as emulating St. Paul's "all things to all men." But his presence showed the supreme importance of Latin America for his Church, and of the Church for Latin America's political future.

The old paternalistic-supernatural approach steadily loses ground with the Lat-

in American masses, the largest body of Roman Catholics in the world. Services are ever more sparsely attended, candidates for the priesthood ever fewer. At the same time a revived "horizontal" Church, emerging from the masses and churchpeople who stand with them, is gaining ground.

For all the hierarchy's efforts to separate "religion" from "politics," the last CELAM conference—at Medellin, Col-

ombia, in 1968—moved far onto political turf with the postulation of a "Theology of Liberation," implying that the Church should fully commit itself in deed to the cause of the exploited and oppressed. In face of this trend's growth, the hierarchy excluded most of the "Liberationists" from participation at Puebla except as "advisers."

The conference theme was evangelization, a new effort to spread faith in the "gospel." But the problem arises: what kind of Gospel do you preach to people whom a "Christian" system starves and grinds in the dust? The Gospel itself, say the Liberationists: the Gospel of, to, by, with and from the disinherited. But doesn't that gospel threaten the whole exploitative system in which the Church has played no small part? Isn't the Church among the richest and most powerful of international corporations, with investments everywhere deeply committing it to the status quo?

In any case, the Church can't blind itself to the reality in which it lives. Its main concern is to survive, and it has always survived with great intelligence; it must at least appear not to conceal behind "religious" cant facts of which its adherents are all too well aware. And for most of Latin America's 340 million souls the facts are unspeakably grim. According to a World Bank study cited at the conference, 43 percent of Latin Americans live in "acute poverty" (near-starvation), a million die in infancy every year, 100 million are illiterate, and 125 to 150 million "homes" don't even have water.

### "The hope of the Church."

That this situation is getting worse instead of better the hierarchy would be foolish to deny. The new Pope boldly confronted it in Mexico's most pauperized state, Oaxaca. A spokesman for the peasantry there told him, speaking in Zapotec:

"You said that we the poor are the hope of your Church; see now how that hope lives. We are treated like foreigners in the land of our fathers. When we claim the lands that the Kings of Spain themselves recognized as ours, they lie to us, im-

*Continued on next page.*

## But radical priests will go on doing their thing

By Michael Wilpers

MADISON, WISC.

Priests, nuns and bishops will continue teaching Marxism to Latin America's poor despite the Pope's recent denunciation of religious political activity, say church leaders in this university city connected with their efforts.

The Pope's speech opening the Latin American conference of bishops in January has been reported as a slap at "liberation theology," an interpretation of the Bible stressing justice that has inspired ten years of church activism south of the border.

American newspapers misrepresented the Pope, sources here insist, because he actually encouraged political education led by radical clergy. Over 100,000 community groups across the continent have been organized to share work and religious services and to learn about class struggle.

Contrary to the Pope's much publicized fears, they add, church leaders are not sacrificing their religion for Marxism, which is being taught, they point out, only to help the poor understand their situation.

"The Pope prayed specifically for a continuation of the spirit of the last Latin American bishops' conference, held at Medellin in 1968," documents declared that the lack of political consciousness made education essential," notes Pedrinho Guareschi, a Redemptorist priest who arrived here from Brazil in February.

"Given the Latin American history of oppression, Marxism is the best scientific

analysis," he says, "and a scientific approach is our best weapon."

"The English-speaking part of the world is afraid of the theology of liberation, and its media used the Pope's words to say they're against it," he adds. "But he didn't mention the words—so the media's reporting was a victory for conservatives in America."

"The Pope repeatedly stressed that biblical beliefs shouldn't be co-opted by political ideology. This applies to capitalism and martial law as clearly as it does to anything else," remarks Jim Egan, a St. Paul's University Catholic Center priest on sabbatical in Boston. He corresponds with priests in Honduras, one of whom has set up a radio station.

The Pope's stress on evangelism may make it easier for conservative bishops to discipline activist priests, Egan fears. But John Paul II provided theological ammunition for both sides.

"A concept of integral and complete evangelization has been clearly set out since the Medellin conference—and it implies attention to basic economic and social needs," Egan points out.

The result has been the "comunidades base" or base communities, 50,000 of which have sprung up in Brazil alone. In the poor suburbs or "barrios," groups of five to 15 families gather to discuss food, clothing, land and housing with a Marxist methodology. Even the liturgies and readings of the Mass concern living conditions, says Guareschi, who leads groups in Porto Alegre.

"We study the scripture by starting with the social realities and looking for comment on them in the Bible. We ask,

"What does the gospel say about the rising cost of food?" Guareschi explains.

What they have found is a testament condemning the rich to a violent end along with those who oppress foreigners and the poor. Liberty is mandated for the needy.

Isaiah announces, "They shall live in the houses they build, and eat the fruit of the vineyard they plant; they shall not build houses for others to live in or plant for others to eat" (65:21-22), in one passage quoted in the theology of liberation.

"The priests are not interested in banding together in a movement—200 priests can't do much. But education leads to organization, and Latin American governments are very afraid of this," notes Paul Schervish, Jesuit sociology graduate student and friend of Guareschi and a group of nuns recently released from jail in Peru.

Fear quickly translates into persecution. Dozens of Latin American clergy have been killed, beaten up, imprisoned, or expelled from their countries. The suppression is one of three claws of violence the religious activists see gripping Latin America: oppressive economic and political systems causing hunger, disease and joblessness; people fighting to overcome them; and governments reacting with persecution and torture.

"A Bolivian government document revealed in 1975 describes their deliberate policy of identifying and persecuting progressive clergy—and links it to the CIA," mentions Arthur Lloyd, former chaplain at St. Francis House, an Episcopal living community here. He recently met with a theologian and advisor to the archbishop of El Salvador, an outspoken critic of the

military regime. "Three priests have been killed in El Salvador alone, one recently while leading a retreat."

"Conservative statements the Pope did make will have little impact among activists because he failed to come to terms with this persecution—his credibility was undermined," notes Lloyd.

What the activist clergy is striving for is uncertain, even to them.

"They're very clear that it will mean an end to capitalism there," says Lloyd. "They see Latin America as the watchdog of multinational capitalism, supported by authoritarian military interests. It cannot provide the kind of just society they want."

Cuba, Tanzania and formerly Chile are models the radical priests point to, according to Egan and Schervish. But a new brand of Marxism—unique to Latin America—is most talked about.

"There's a new spirit in Latin America—and it's irreversible," concludes Walter Owensby, former missionary in Colombia and Mexico, now here with Inter-American Designs for Corporate Responsibility, a Presbyterian lobbying and public awareness group. "The tide cannot be stemmed or turned back, and there will be no retreat, that's for sure."

The Pope allowed local freedom while a cardinal in Poland, Egan points out, and set a precedent for political activity as well. Last spring, he encouraged workers who demonstrated over high food prices. This April, he will return to Poland to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the death of St. Stanislas—executed personally by the king for harping on the sins of the royalty.



Continued from page 8

son us. We suffer much because we cannot say what we want and feel. Many of us can't write, we can't speak Spanish, because we are far from schools and have no roads."

That was a cry from the heart of a devout but desperate multitude all up and down the continent. They turn to the Church for help because all other forms of organization are drowned in blood, and because they still want to believe in its professions of concern for the poor. Yet what do they see happening to those bishops, priests, and members of religious orders or action groups who do preach and follow the Gospel of the Carpenter?

Brazil's Cardinal Arns came to Puebla with a list of 1500 "tortured, murdered and disappeared" churchpeople in the decade since Medellin. Last year a group of bishops discussing the Theology of Liberation in Ecuador were arrested and jailed. Last month El Salvador troops attacked a religious retreat, killing a priest and four students; the country's Archbishop Romero is pronounced "insane, Communist, ally of the devil" for denouncing the government terror, his flock "subversive" just for attending his Masses.

Meanwhile, in Nicaragua and other Latin American countries, papal *nuncios* openly support terror regimes which (according to an Amnesty International plea to CELAM) have "killed or 'disappeared'" at least 30,000 of their citizens since Medellin, and still have some 17,000 in jails and torture chambers for their beliefs. In Argentina alone, Amnesty International estimates the "disappeared" at 15,000 in only three years. Said Nicaraguan priest-poet Ernesto Cardenal at a Puebla press conference, charging the Vatican with "passivity or complicity": "My country is being crucified while the whole world crosses its arms."

These horrors done in the name of Christianity can no longer be pushed under the rug. The question arousing bitter

controversy at Puebla was: what should the Church do about it? And the unspoken question: what will happen to the Church if it does nothing? For the growth of the Liberationists, who demand action, threatens a continent-wide split in the oldest and hitherto most durable organization made by man.

The hierarchy hopes that a somewhat less authoritarian and more "pluralist" Church can be held together. But can they maintain control unless they challenge the "Christianity" of the political system and offer some alternative? Can they remain deaf to the cry for justice by labeling it "Marxism" and equating it with the "violence" which all so enthusiastically condemn?

#### Bishops condemn violence.

As a means toward the change they advocate, the few Liberationist bishops at Puebla all joined in the condemnation of violence—not only as un-Christian, but as counterproductive in the age of super-weapons. But Brazil's "red bishop" Helder Camara urged "a socialism applicable to Latin America" as "the prophesy of modern times," to be achieved by "audacious" nonviolence. Salvador's Archbishop insisted that "the class struggle exists" and that a truly prophetic stance must involve "risk of torture." The bishop of Papatla, Mexico, said that although the Pope advised "patience" to the victims of the system, they "can't wait any longer." Brazil's Cardinal Lorscheider called the "national security" doctrine, by which the terror regimes justify themselves, "more dangerous in some countries than Marxism." Ecuador's bishop Proano told left Catholics gathered at Puebla that "Christians and Marxists can work together" and that capitalism is "a world system of sin."

The hierarchy harped on the false alternative of "love" or "machinegun" evangelism, implying that since only violence can change the system, and Christians



## The bishops' compromise was not as bad as some feared.

must oppose violence, the solution is for exploiters and victims to love each other. In that connection Mariano Garcia, pastor of a Cuban church, made a humble contribution via a Puebla press conference:

"Communist education gives Man a more Christian attitude, which doesn't exist in capitalist lands because of the spirit of competition infused in people. In Cuba, to be a communist is to be more Christian. Christians of my country don't act just for themselves, the spirit of community and brotherhood keeps growing, evangelization is practiced in a climate of liberty."

The Pope's appearances before vast, fervent Mexican throngs were sponsored on TV by a bank, whose message was immediately flashed on the screen: "More profits." But the conference couldn't and didn't ignore the embarrassing abyss between those who pile up profits and the

masses from whose hides the profits come. Nor could it ignore—though it never identified—the U.S.-multinational imperialism that is basically responsible.

#### Vatican feels "deep pain."

The \$65,000 question causing greatest episcopal anguish was how to reduce it without committing the sin of Marxism. The Pope and his devotees felt that "solid Christology" would take care of it, leaving to laymen—"but not exclusively"—the burden of fighting social injustice. For since Man is "the image of God," the Vatican feels "deep pain" when he is racially discriminated or tortured.

The conference went into its second week with "eschatological tensions" avoiding outright condemnation of the Theology of Liberation but with nothing concrete as to who would liberate whom from what and how. A candid document emerged from the commission on the social situation, to be rejected by a small plenum majority as "too strong."

Under the heading "Our Contribution," in a final (but still subject to papal approval) "message to the Latin American peoples," CELAM "invited all, without distinction of classes, to accept and assume the cause of the poor," and advised all "brothers" not to be influenced by "reports that the bishops are divided."

The bishops' compromise manifesto was better than some Liberationists had feared, reaffirming Medellin without going any further. It equally denounced "capitalist liberalism" as "the idolatry of individual wealth" and Marxism as "the idolatry of collective wealth," and violence both in its "institutionalized" and "guerrilla" forms. It warned against "politicization of Christian doctrine" and exhorted priests not to become "instruments of politics and ideology."

The outcome, most experts think, is that bishops and all other churchpeople will keep on doing their thing regardless.

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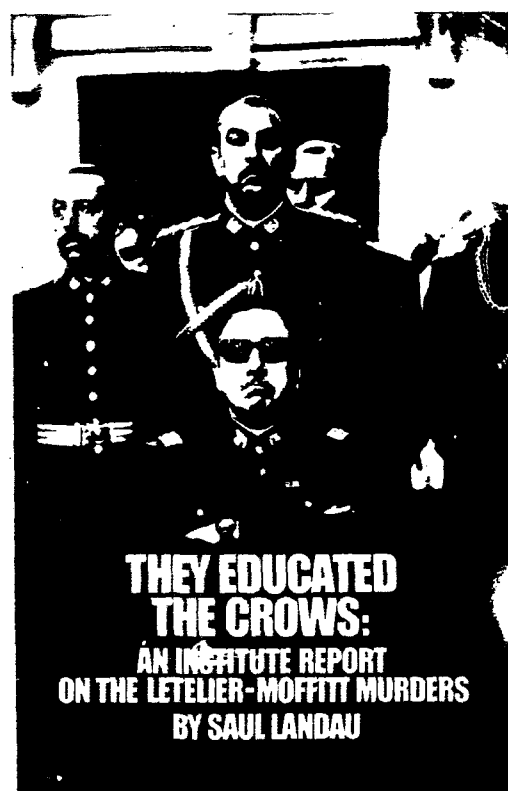
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## FRENCH LABOR

# French steel workers fight to save jobs

By Diana Johnstone

LORRAINE, FRANCE

**T**O KEEP LORRAINE FROM exploding, the French government agreed on Feb. 6 to let steelworkers retire at age 55 and to discuss its whole plan for restructuring the steel industry with trade union leaders.

Since the government took control of the heavily indebted industry last Sept. 20 and announced a "salvage plan" involving elimination of over 20,000 jobs, revolt has been mounting in Lorraine, in the old industrial coal and steel heartland of Europe.

Hardest hit was the border town of Longwy, where Luxembourg, Belgium and Germany come together in a similar landscape of hills and factories. A one-industry town with no other jobs to offer the thousands of steelworkers to be laid off, Longwy is desperate.

After a series of peaceful, imaginative demonstrations failed to produce any results, workers in the Chiers steel mill at Longwy on Jan. 29 held the director prisoner in his office to protest against plans to fire all 1800 employees and shut down the plant for good in 1980.

"For once, we got on the news ahead of the Ayatollah," a labor militant said with satisfaction.

Police were sent into the factory. In retaliation, police headquarters was attacked a few days later. Politicians and the most conservative labor leaders, such as Andre Bergeron, warned that "anything can happen" and that they "feared the worst." This was not isolated individual violence, but the expression of the anger of a whole population, approved by the whole population.

Heeding the warnings, Labor Minister Robert Boulin, on Feb. 6, offered to lower the voluntary retirement age to 55, extend the current one-year 90 percent of salary unemployment compensation beyond one year if needed and to "study



Wives of Lorraine steel workers march in support of their husbands' demands for a "Salvage plan" to save their jobs.

every case" of steelworkers in the threatened industry to find the fairest solution.

With an industry-wide protest strike scheduled for Feb. 16, union leaders were also promised an early interview with Industry Minister Andre Giraud to discuss the government's "restructuring" plan. Workers call it "dismantling."

The government of Prime Minister Raymond Barre means to use the political leeway provided by the left's demoralizing election defeat last year to plow under supposedly unprofitable industries with the promise that new profitable ones will spring up in their place.

But the workers do not believe official economists. After all, only a few years ago the government was willing to pour millions into modernizing steel plants. The industry's installations are new, technologically advanced. The workers readily feel that they are being sacrificed for somebody else—probably the Germans. They feel that the lack of a steel industry would make France more dependent—probably on the Germans.

Edmond Maire, the leader of the CFDT trade union confederation, criticized the "xenophobic and chauvinistic" slogans of Gaullists, Communists and the CGT trade

union confederation in Lorraine, such as: "Lorraine will not be sold out to big German Konzern!"

Such nationalist reactions come quite naturally, and are not foisted on the workers by the Communists or the CGT. The French Communist party is determined in this difficult time not to get cut off from its working-class base, which is heavily concentrated in the old and threatened industries. The steel industry is a CGT stronghold. The CFDT is very weak there, but is stronger in the technologically newer industries that may have a brighter future in the "new economic world order." ■

## RIGHTS IN WEST GERMANY

# Tribunal cites Willy Brandt's "radical decree"

By Andrei S. Markovits and Christopher S. Allen

DUSSELDORF &amp; KOLN, W. GER.

**I**N SOUTHERN GERMANY, BOOKS about the Red Cross were banned in a public library. A university purged its reserve room's shelves of works by Heinrich Boll, Willy Brandt, Bertold Brecht and Ralf Dahrendorf.

A Minister of Culture of a north German federal state prevented the coverage by a radio station of an anti-nuclear demonstration due to "the adverse effect such coverage might have on the social order."

These were some of the accounts rendered at the *Stadthalle* in Koln-Mulheim in the Federal Republic of Germany last month during the second session of the Third International Russell Tribunal that concerned human rights in West Germany, particularly issues of censorship, constitutional protection and the rights of defendants.

The five-day Tribunal consisted of testimony from citizens adversely affected by state actions. Additionally, numerous experts, both from the Federal Republic and abroad, offered analyses of the current situation regarding the actual and potential threats to civil liberties in West Germany.

At the heart of this investigation lay an international concern for the widely known "*Berufsverbot*" (ban on employment)—officially known as the "Radikalenerlass" (radical decree)—its use by

the state, and its chilling ramifications on legitimate dissent in German public discourse.

Briefly, the *Berufsverbot*, instituted ironically by Willy Brandt's SPD (Social Democratic Party)-dominated government in 1972, represents an executive order that permits state authorities to screen applicants for public service employment according to the criteria of constitutional compatibility and political reliability.

Since the German civil service encompasses a wide variety of professions, the *Berufsverbot* has affected elementary school teachers, railroad engineers, public sector office employees, and municipal sanitation workers among others.

While the actual practice of the *Berufsverbot* is serious, even more serious is the potential for its indiscriminate use. Many Germans have expressed great concern about the fear such random use of the decree has created to stifle legitimate dissenting opinion.

Yet it is not so much the relatively small number of people who have so far been adversely affected by the *Berufsverbot*, but rather the atmosphere of uncertainty, suspicion, and blame that the state has instituted (more so in some parts of the Federal Republic than in others).

In the course of the Russell Tribunal the actual implementation of the *Berufsverbot* received much attention. Among the dangers described by witnesses were the Kafkaesque aspects of the bureaucracy. Some of these have resulted from the excessive zeal of investigative agencies in charge of security matters.

Even ordinary language has not remained immune from the effects of the *Berufsverbot*. For example, when referring to West Germany and East Germany, respectively, the accepted terms are Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany) and DDR (GDR); anyone mentioning the former by its acronym BRD (FRG) and/or the latter by its official name, Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic) is suspect of harboring views hostile to the country's constitution.

However, it is significant that the Federal Republic of Germany allowed the Russell Tribunal to hold its sessions within its borders, thereby becoming the first country examined by the Tribunal to play host to its own critics. It may be an unfortunate statement about the condition of human rights in the world that a tribunal of such dimensions could only take place in a handful of countries.

For example, the First Russell Tribunal (1966/67) dealing with the American role in the Vietnam war, had to be held in Denmark and Sweden. Invited U.S. government officials refused to attend those meetings. The Second Tribunal, held between 1973 and 1975, concerned with Latin American transgressions, had to take place in Rome and Brussels because they were denied permission to meet in Latin America.

This is not to imply that the Russell Tribunal was welcomed with open arms in Germany. Meetings held last year in Germany were greeted by a cacophony of derogatory and angry voices emanat-

ing from most of the media and from many public figures, though the government remained silent. This year's meeting, in contrast, met with a conspicuous silence by most of the press.

The Tribunal's jury concluded that some recently adopted measures pose "a serious threat to human rights in West Germany." Furthermore, most panelists warned of the dangers to society of an ever-growing secretive information apparatus that is not only incompatible with a liberal democracy, but poses a major threat to its very existence. The *Berufsverbot* all but formalizes the opportunities for "actual state abuse."

It would certainly be wrong to conclude from the Tribunal's findings that Germany is a country marching to the tune of jackboots on the road to fascism. Not only would such a view be mistaken, but it would impede any useful conclusions to be drawn in a comparative perspective.

The important lesson to be learned is that all states in advanced capitalist societies do have the techniques and ideological capability to manipulate public life to force conformity to an accepted sense of values and behavior. Such actions are most imminent when a state perceives itself endangered by a crisis, real or imagined.

Andrei S. Markovits (Department of Government, Wesleyan University) and Christopher S. Allen (Department of Politics, Brandeis University) are currently in the Federal Republic researching aspects of the German political economy.



## VIETNAMESE "BOAT PEOPLE"

# Capital shortage, not persecution, drives out Viets

By Chris Mullin

**I**MAGES OF TERRIFIED VIETNAMESE fighting to keep their small boats afloat in the South China Sea have flickered around the world since the summer of 1977. The number of Vietnamese "boat people" in the past 18 months ranges from 85,000 to ten times that many in the State Department's estimate.

What remains a mystery is what drives thousands of Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese from their homeland more than three years after the unification of Vietnam. Ironically, the desperation of these refugees, many of them wealthy enough to buy small boats and exit visas from Vietnamese officials, is directly related to the swift collapse of the Thieu regime on April 29, 1975.

When the Vietnamese communists took power in Saigon, they inherited a situation possibly more difficult than that facing any other revolutionary government. Because the suddenness of their victory was unexpected, they captured nearly the entire ruling class of South Vietnam. The Americans had time to take with them only about 20,000 of their most committed friends. Behind them left a South Vietnamese army and police force of 1.2 million men. There were also over 300,000 civil servants and a huge community of rich merchants and wheeler-dealers—mainly of Chinese origin—none of whom could expect to maintain their old lifestyles under the new order.

These people and their families represent a huge number of potentially disaffected people in a South Vietnamese population of just over 20 million. Many are northerners who had already fled south from the communists in 1954, but this time they had no where else to run. Unlike Chinese Nationalists who fled to Taiwan in 1949 or the 100,000 Cubans who went to America from 1959 to 1961, there was no country in the world prepared to take literally hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees.

How they should handle the old ruling class was by no means the only problem facing the new authorities in South Vietnam. They had inherited responsibility for an economy which was almost entirely artificial. Between 1946 and 1971 America poured \$15 billion in economic aid into Vietnam (compared with \$8 billion for India and \$4 billion for the whole of Africa over the same period). By the time the Thieu regime collapsed, economic and military aid from America was running at around \$2 billion a year.

This effectively paid the wages of the vast Thieu army, police force and civil service; it financed most imports of raw materials and huge supplies of luxury consumer goods. By the end, the Americans were even importing rice on a large scale.

The result was that the war enabled many of those in the cities to enjoy a standard of living that was remarkably high in comparison with other developing countries, and much higher than that in North Vietnam.

With the defeat of the Thieu regime, all American aid ceased overnight. Supplies of vital raw materials dried up. The new authorities now found themselves with three million unemployed—about one-third of the country's entire labor force. On top of this there were large numbers of prostitutes, drug addicts and refugees from the countryside, none of whom had any means of supporting themselves.

To make matters worse, there have been a series of disastrous harvests following floods which last year destroyed one-fifth

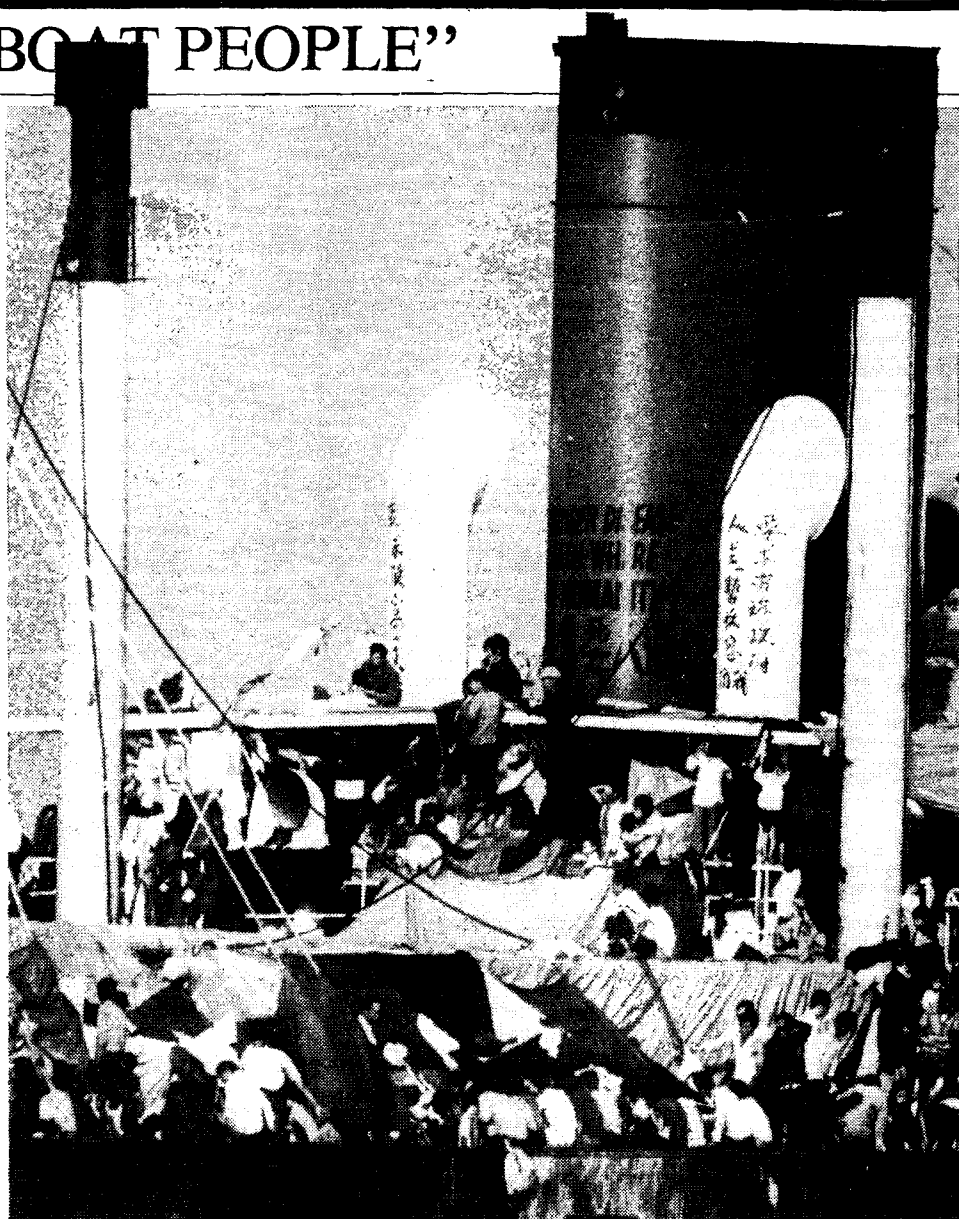
## The Americans left in Vietnam 300,000 civil servants and many more rich.

of the country's livestock and inundated 500,000 homes, mainly in the rice producing Mekong Delta. Finally, the long-simmering war with Cambodia led to an influx of about 200,000 Cambodian refugees, all of whom have to be supported.

This is the background against which the exodus from Vietnam should be considered. To meet these problems the new authorities have had to introduce a very austere regime. Rice and food grains have been rationed to 13 kilos of foodstuffs per person a month. Big grain merchants and other smaller private traders have been expropriated. Those without jobs are being encouraged to move from the cities into the countryside to areas of uncultivated land known as New Economic Zones.

Life in the New Economic Zones is very hard. Vietnamese sources admit that they were inadequately prepared for the program with the result that many who went to work in the zones drifted back into the cities. About 750,000 people are so far said to have left the cities for the countryside. While there is officially no compulsion, it is clear that some went under threat of having their rations cut off or other sanctions applied.

The result is that many of those who have previously earned their living as administrators, army officers or small traders—and who have no experience at man-



Off Hong Kong, 2700 Vietnamese refugees crowd the decks of the Panamanian freighter Huey Fong after having been picked up from nine small boats in the South China Sea.

ual work—found themselves faced with a choice of going to the countryside or leaving Vietnam. Many have chosen to leave.

Leaving Vietnam is not difficult. The authorities appear to be turning a blind eye to the exodus, presumably reasoning that keeping people who don't want to stay can only lead to more trouble.

Secondly, a large and lucrative racket seems to have sprung up for the purpose of helping people to leave Vietnam. Syndicates based in Los Angeles and Hong Kong are said to be charging around \$2,000 a head for passage out of Vietnam. They are assisted by corrupt officials—many of them former servants of the Thieu regime who are now back in their old jobs after a spell in a re-education camp. Families

wanting to leave are raising the money from relatives in America and France, who are sending it through the post.

The important point about the overwhelming majority of refugees from Vietnam is that they are not fleeing from political persecution. They are fleeing from a standard of living which has been drastically reduced, and because they have no prospect of returning to the lifestyle to which they grew accustomed under the old regime.

(1979 Pacific News Service)

Chris Mullin, formerly employed by the BBC, is a British journalist who now works for the political weekly Tribune. He has traveled extensively in the Far East, including Vietnam, China, Cambodia and Laos.

## CHINA-VIETNAM

# 'Winning side forgets the UN'

By Richard Goldensohn

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK

**K**URT WALDHEIM LOOKED worried. Earlier Tuesday he had told a reporter that the situation in Southeast Asia was, in his opinion, the worst world crisis since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Now he was sitting at the Security Council table at 9 p.m. on the fourth day of open debate that appeared to be going absolutely nowhere. He, himself, had offered his "good offices" to intervene and perhaps travel to the region. So far, no country directly involved has taken him up on his week-old offer.

Most of the other 16 men seated at the horseshoe-shaped table looked bored. Most of what was now happening had already been discussed during Monday's closed-door sessions or in informal consultations held earlier in the day.

The meeting itself was already twice postponed and had begun an hour late at 8 p.m. The Chinese representatives, so buoyant and confident during Prince Sihanouk's appearance at the Security Council session last month, were chain-smoking and looked somber and uncomfortable.

Andy Young had slumped so far down in his seat he appeared to be lying down.

No votes had been taken and only two resolutions proposed. Neither of them

stood a chance of being passed over either a Soviet or Chinese vote.

The Chinese have consistently taken the position that the invasion of Vietnam is merely a "border conflict" that is actually a "limited counter-attack" against a Vietnamese invasion of their territory.

## The 16 delegates are bored by same speeches.

They assert that the conflict is "the sole making of the Vietnamese authorities" who have "deliberately pursued a hostile policy toward the People's Republic of China." They refuse to support any resolution that does not call for withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

The Soviets, on the other hand, and their allies, sometimes make entire speeches without even mentioning the situation in Cambodia, and Vietnamese representative Ha Van Lau's speech on the Cambodian situation—that acknowledges Vietnam's involvement—asserts that it is "support" and not "aggression." The Vietnamese are opposed to any resolution that links its actions in Cambodia to the Chinese actions in Vietnam. Although Vietnam is not on the Security Council, the Soviets will veto any proposal sug-

gesting that Vietnamese troops be withdrawn from Cambodia.

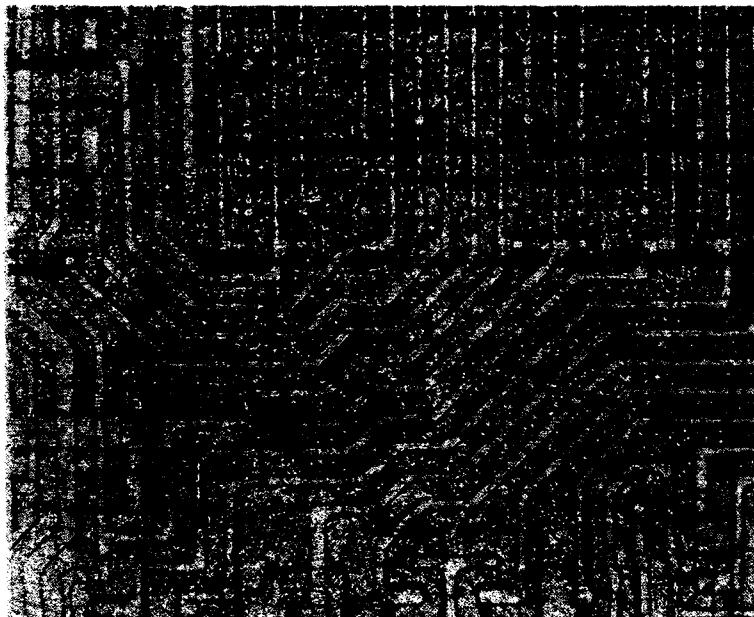
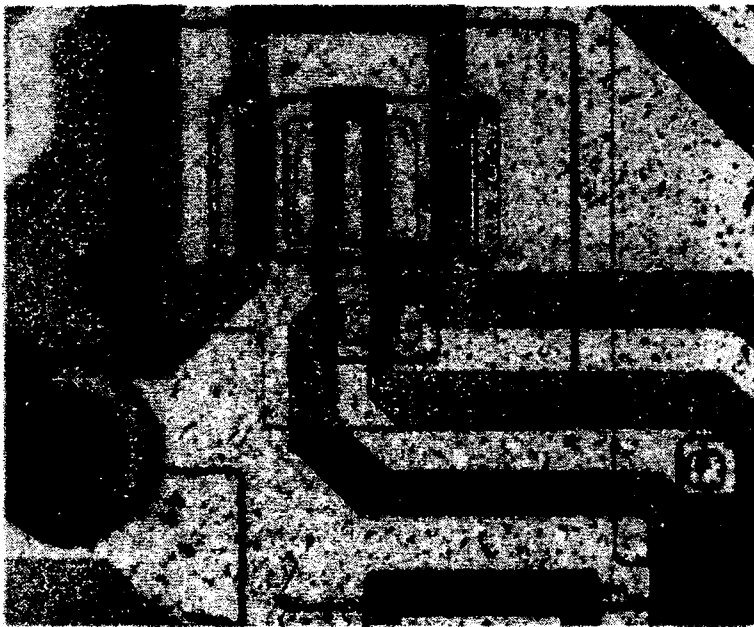
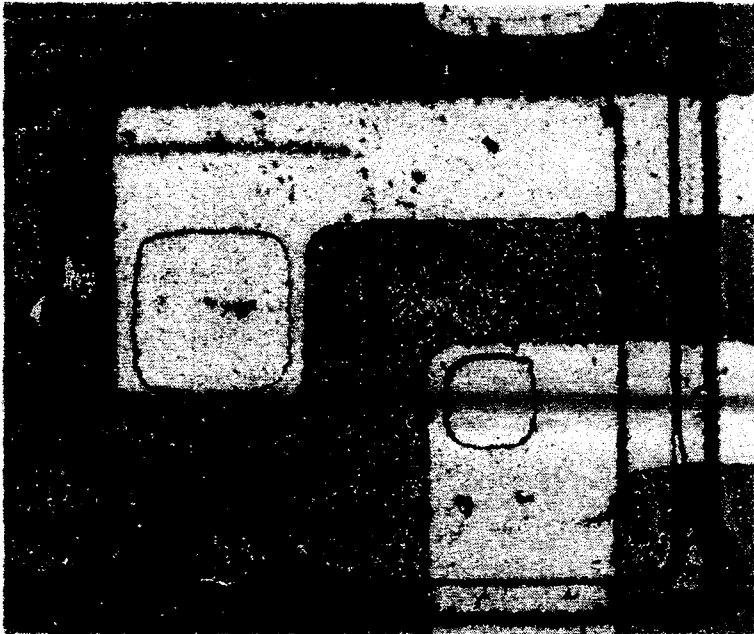
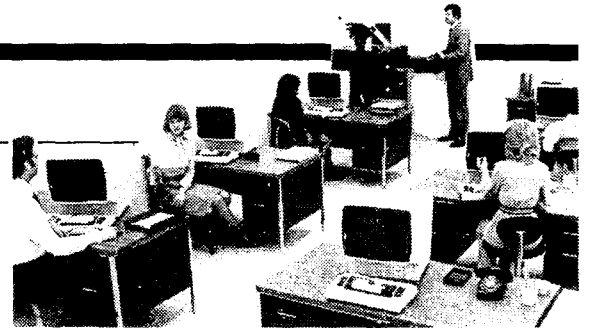
The U.S. and other Western nations have supported the idea that both the Vietnamese and the Chinese should withdraw their troops from "foreign territory," but the Vietnamese say that the U.S. position of tying the two issues together proves "U.S. complicity with the Chinese aggressors whom they wish to encourage to redouble their efforts in pursuit of this criminal war."

With the Security Council deadlocked, it now looks as if there may be no resolution passed by the Council at all. At the close of Tuesday night's session, diplomats were hinting that a "statement" of the Security Council president, expressing the "consensus" of the delegates, would be issued. But by the following day, with even this unofficial "consensus" still eluding the delegates, it appeared that no resolution would be reached.

Earlier in the month, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim defended the UN and blamed some of its apparent impotence on member-states. Waldheim said at that time, "A problem can be solved only through the political will of governments to agree on a solution, to agree to negotiate.... As long as a party is winning, or is on the winning side, it forgets about the United Nations.... The moment it loses, the party comes to the UN and is then disappointed that we cannot solve the problem immediately."



## THE MICROPROCESSOR REVOLUTION

AN OFFICE ON  
THE HEAD OF A PIN

Three chips at the same magnification: a 1961 chip showing one transistor (top); a 1965 chip; a 1975 chip with more than a dozen transistors.

by John Markoff and  
Jon Stewart

**T**HEY ARE VIRTUALLY INVISIBLE to the naked eye, a spider-like network of tiny lines etched on a flake of silicon less than half the size of your fingertip. Yet packed into these computers-on-a-chip—known as microprocessors—is more computing power than in the first (1950) large electronic computer, ENIAC, had.

Today microprocessors are invading almost all aspects of American life. They are changing the way we work, play and even think. And a new wave of computer-on-a-chip applications and innovations is poised on the horizon. Industry experts and social scientists openly proclaim the dawn of a new social revolution, the "Information Age."

Today's microprocessor is the grandchild of the transistor, invented by American scientists in 1947, which led to the development of the semi-conductor industry and, in the early '60s, the integrated circuit industry. Integrated circuits meant that various electronic elements, including transistors, could be combined on a tiny chip of semi-conductive silicon, which in the form of sand is the world's most common element next to oxygen.

It is now possible to put as many as 100,000 transistors, resistors and other circuitry elements on a single chip. These transistors act as tiny valves, shuttling bursts of electric current, in the form of binary digits (zeroes and ones), back and forth to make literally hundreds of thousands of computations per second. By means of the modern alchemy of computer logic, the circuitry can store data for later processing, perform arithmetic and logic operations, or deliver its results to a computer through a variety of different "read-outs."

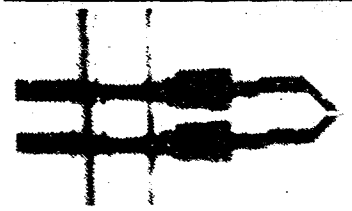
Robert Noyce, president of Intel Corporation, the world's largest producer of microprocessors, argues that the development of the microprocessor is equivalent to the development of the cotton gin or the printing press. "The first industrial revolution involved amplifying muscle power so that things could be physically moved more efficiently. Our revolution amplifies the ability to handle information," he says.

Already, according to researcher Mark Porat of the Department of Commerce's Office of Telecommunications, we are living in an "information economy." By 1955, information-related jobs were surpassing manufacturing jobs, and information activities became the dominant sector of the American economy, he says.

The development of the microprocessor by two American high-technology corporations, Intel and Texas Instruments,

started a head-long rush toward computerization and automation.

In the 1950s, there were no microprocessors and only a thousand computers in the U.S. By 1976, the number of computers had risen to 220,000 and three-quarters of a million microprocessors had been produced. By 1980, the projection is for more than 10 million microprocessors. Both the size and cost of microprocessors have steadily declined; the cost has fallen by a factor of 100 in the last decade.



## NEW MARKETS AT HOME

The American automobile industry intends to rely almost exclusively on the microprocessor to meet federally-imposed pollution standards in the 1980s. Microprocessors will monitor the temperature and pressure of automobile engines and provide controls based on commands from the driver to go slower or faster. Dr. Les Earnest, associate director of Stanford University's Artificial Intelligence Project, says microprocessor technology will change the way people work. Home computer terminals will give people access to a wide range of information services. "Electronic newspapers and even classified ads will be available in the home," he says. Earnest already gets an average of 25 messages a day on his computer terminal from research colleagues around the world through a Department of Defense computer network.

"Right now there are a large number of people with home computers, but these devices do not, for the most part, connect with telephone lines. Rather, they do self-contained operations, like playing games and helping to calculate income tax.... [But] within several years there will be a flowering of competition to offer information services of various sorts, news services, the latest television listings," he says.

But shadowing the bright future that microprocessor advocates envision are the grim facts of microprocessor production today and ominous signs of unemployment for the future.

The tiny, silicon-based microprocessor is the product of what may be the world's first "global factories." The chips are designed by highly paid, highly educated scientists in America—and assembled by workers throughout Asia who earn as little as ten cents an hour. The Asian assembly lines are linked to America by jet-



age air freight and satellite communications networks.

The complex design process is accomplished by scientists and engineers working in high security research laboratories. The companies cluster in California's Santa Clara near San Francisco, nicknamed "Silicon Gulch."

The design and initial manufacturing steps of the microprocessor are unique for the degree of automation and high technology involved. Indeed, as the microprocessor grows both smaller and more powerful, it is necessary to rely increasingly on computers to design them. The human mind alone cannot cope with the complexity of the circuitry.

As many as 500 chips are made at one time from a thin-sliced wafer of polished silicon about three inches in diameter. Because even the smallest speck of dust will render the chips useless, the wafers are handled in rooms specially constructed to be dust-free. The silicon wafers are "doped" with impurities to create electrically conductive and non-conductive areas. These positive and negative specks act as transistors, or tiny electronic switches that shuttle the electrical impulses about.

The design of these transistors is created in a large drawing, photographically reduced to the point that the circuits are virtually invisible to the naked eye.

After the silicon wafers have been treated with a photo-sensitive emulsion, the reduced "photomask" of the circuit design is placed over it and exposed to ultraviolet light, which burns the pattern into the wafer. This process is repeated for each layer of the wafer, often as many as ten times.

Finally, the entire wafer is coated with an aluminum conductor and then subjected to an inspection to check for defects. Even with this precise microscopic manufacturing process, many chips on each wafer are found to be useless.

The wafer is then cut with a diamond cutter and the bad chips are discarded. The good ones may be sorted by quality; the best may go to the military for space systems and the worst to the consumer market for things like pocket calculators and digital watches.

## HIGH-TECH SWEATSHOPS

But before they are ready for any application they must be "bonded" to small circuit boards. This painstaking process, which involves connecting as many as 60 tiny wires on each chip, is accomplished by thousands of young women working with microscopes in dozens of assembly plants in Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, the Philippines and Taiwan.

This process, unlike the earlier steps, is labor-intensive, routine and low-skilled. In fact, were it not for the subsistence or below-subsistence wages paid to the Asian workers, the bonding process would be ripe for automation.

"One major California firm's Hong Kong workforce is almost all women, young Chinese girls 14-18 years old," said Bob Snow, a research associate at the East-West Center in Honolulu who has investigated the industry. "They work the same day as women in Mountain View, Cal.—seven hours and 20 minutes—but they get about \$2 a day. It's true that \$2 buys a hell of a lot more in Hong Kong than in California, but it's nowhere near enough to live on."

According to an American manager in a Fairchild Semiconductor plant in Hong Kong, the company's Singapore workers in 1975 were earning 80 cents an hour while their Korean workers were getting 47 cents an hour. The generally less productive Indonesian employees cost the company a reported 22 cents an hour, and recent devaluations have reduced that to a mere ten cents. (A Fairchild spokesman at the company's Santa Clara headquarters refused to confirm or deny these figures.)

Even these jobs are in demand; Fairchild employs some 3000 Indonesians

and receives about 500 applicants on any given day, according to a source at the American embassy in Indonesia.

Important tax incentives also explain the industry's preference for Asia. Many Asian governments, eager to attract the American firms, are creating new "free trade zones" where companies can locate and escape local taxes. Also, special U.S. tariff provisions allow semi-conductor manufacturers to pay duties on re-imported goods only on the value added overseas. And because labor costs are so low, the companies pay small import duties when the assembled parts return to the States.

Fairchild claims that only 5 percent of the value of its production is created abroad, although some 60 percent of its total workforce is outside the U.S., according to an authoritative trade journal.

The companies argue that the special tax privileges are necessary to maintain free trade. At the same time, they have been pressuring the U.S. to take steps to discourage competitive Japanese semiconductor exports to this country.

## THE AUTOMATED OFFICE

Microelectronic automation, says James Carlisle, a computer specialist at the University of Southern California, is "likely to bring about an organizational revolution among white-collar workers comparable in magnitude to that resulting from the introduction of the assembly line to blue collar work."

The cost of running an office is driving invention forward. Consider these facts:

- According to Labor Department figures, roughly half the total U.S. labor force is now engaged in some aspect of the production and distribution of ideas and information.

- Office equipment manufacturers estimate that 22 percent of the total labor force—or half the information industry—works in an office. IBM predicts this segment will grow to an astonishing 40 percent of the total labor force by 1985.

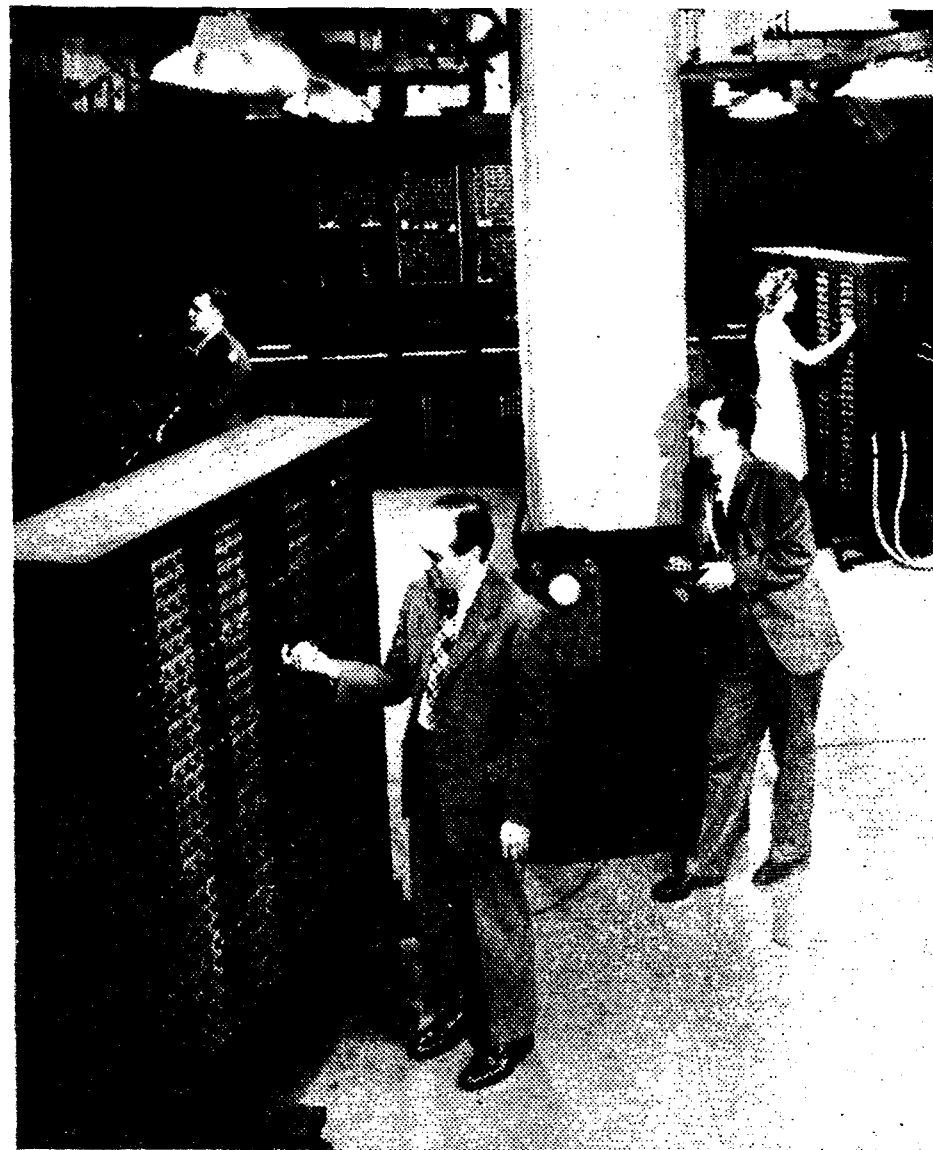
- The cost of office overhead, primarily salaries, accounts for up to 50 percent of the total operating costs of all American corporations. Among government and service industries, such as banks, insurance firms, communications companies and human service sectors, office salaries account for 70-85 percent of total costs, according to a recent independent study. These costs are rising at an annual rate of 6 to 8 percent.

- While office costs have doubled over the past decade, office productivity has remained almost stagnant. Most experts agree it has increased by only 4 percent in ten years. In the same period, industrial productivity—spurred by widespread automation—has increased about 90 percent.

- Finally—and this is the key to this "quiet revolution"—while office employment and overhead costs have soared, the price of office automation equipment has been declining at an annual clip of 10 percent, bringing increasingly sophisticated computers into the reach of even the smallest businesses. It has been estimated that the performance of computers has increased 10,000-fold in 15 years, while the price of "each unit of performance" has declined 100,000-fold since 1960.

Tasks such as typing, editing, accounting, filing, and mailing, will be gradually taken over by hummily efficient machines that will, according to industry spokesmen, do the jobs better, faster and cheaper. The automated office will also increase the efficiency and technical abilities of executives and professionals by combining numerous data banks into an electronic information network. Desktop video display screens (which are expected to both speak and respond to vocal commands within ten to 15 years) will supply executives with up-to-the-minute information for decision-making, and even with suggestions on how to use the information for arriving at a decision.

While some of this equipment, parti-



ENIAC was the first electronic computer, in 1946.

cularly combined word and data processing devices, is already in wide use (some 215,000 small business computers are now installed, along with some 400,000 word processors), the growth of automation equipment sales is expected to be intense over the next five years. Creative Strategies International, a consulting firm based in Santa Clara, Calif., recently completed a five-year market forecast and predicted a 19 percent annual growth rate for the most standard types of automation equipment, such as copiers, computers, dictation and facsimile equipment and word processors.

The major trend, says the company, is toward integration of the equipment, such as word and data processors. New methods of local and global communications will also speed an on-going tendency to eliminate paper as the medium of document storage and communication.

One particularly sophisticated office system, which integrates numerous tasks, is now being used in a "testing atmosphere" at the White House. Installed by Xerox, this Advanced Multi-Function Workstation—code-named "Alpha"—consists of a copier with a keyboard and video-display screen. Besides enabling the user to do electronic editing of documents before they are committed to paper, the system can also create charts and graphs from keypunched instructions, print letters in a variety of type faces, electronically store thousands of pages of information, and print paper copies of graphs created on the display screen.

The two workstations at the White House operate off a computer that can simultaneously handle 254 more such workstations, according to *Datamation*.

According to the Creative Strategies study, the average secretary is either away from the desk, waiting for work or absent 46 percent of the time. About 9 percent of the time is spent taking dictation, typing or proofreading, and the remainder is consumed by answering phone calls, handling mail and doing clerical work. Virtually all these tasks can be performed by today's computers, which are never absent, or hanging about the water cooler, or—especially—attending union meetings.

Yet the elimination of the secretary will not be simple, and will occur only over a long period. Creative Strategies' Larry

Wells, a Xerox salesman who regularly deals with corporate executives, confirms that view: "When a guy spends 15 or 20 years working his way up the ladder so he can have his own secretary, there's no way he's going to give her up for a damn machine. He wants his own personal 'grunt.'"

"We have to change behavioral patterns rather than technology," says Wells. "Technology changes come fast. Behavioral changes come slow. I don't think we'll see major changes with today's generation of executive. For the 45-50-year-old executive, the secretary is a very significant thing."

Yet the changes will come eventually, Wells says. The few secretarial jobs that can't be automated will either be taken over by the executive or handled by part-time employees. Integrated office systems, such as the one being tested in the White House, will be common in seven to eight years. And, he says, it will be possible almost to automate the office itself out of existence by the turn of the century.

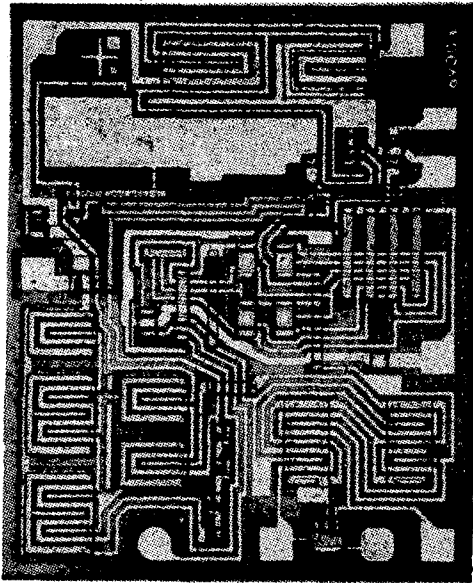
## JOB KILLERS

But the loss of jobs through automated electronic wonder-machines does not lie in the future. Microprocessors already are changing the nature of work and affecting employment.

In West Germany microprocessors are known as the "job killers" and have sparked numerous strikes and reams of government and corporate studies. In Switzerland they have laid waste to one of the most sacred of the national institutions, the precision watch business. In France a government report warns that they threaten to scuttle the nation's ambitious seventh National Plan, an effort to create some one-and-a-half million new jobs. In England they are feared as a Pandora's Box of labor calamities, even as they are hailed as the Aladdin's Lamp that could lead the country out of the industrial darkness.

Continued on page 14.





## OFFICE

Continued from page 13.

And in the U.S. they have severely crippled one of the nation's oldest and strongest labor unions and spread anxiety among many more.

No one in America has made any systematic studies of either the job losses or job creation potential of the microprocessor revolution. But it is not difficult to see that a mini-computer-driven word processor with automatic speech recognition, tied to a digitalized worldwide satellite communications network, would bypass not only the secretary and typist, but the mail carrier as well.

Existing studies are mostly of European industries and businesses, where a strong trade union movement represents not only manufacturing workers, but office workers. Thus, European anxieties are more intense than here.

A French government report, written by Finance Ministry advisor Simon Nora and presented to the government in January 1978, was so alarming that the government held it until May, when the elections were safely over.

The Nora report warned that the French banking and insurance industries, which are particularly labor intensive, will lose

some 30 percent of their jobs within the next ten years, as data processing equipment and automatic tellers take over routine computing service tasks. In 1977, France already had some 1500 automatic tellers installed in banks. The United Kingdom leads with nearly 2000, according to a report by the Geneva-based Union of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees International. That report also estimated that as many as five million secretaries and typists in West Europe could lose jobs within ten years.

The West German-based Siemens company, a high technology multinational, took a look at the potential for automating German business offices recently and predicted that 40 percent of all office work is suitable for automation. West German trade unions say this means about two million secretaries and typists.

Microprocessor-based automation of the West German clock industry, and the loss of much of the industry to American electric watch companies, has roughly halved employment in that sector. The same process, on a larger scale, has hit the Swiss watch industry.

Advocates of both industrial and service sector automation argue that by increasing productivity, which the microprocessor promises to do, it will bring about an economic growth rate that will create new job markets.

However, say skeptics, widespread automation will require an extremely high economic growth rate to create an adequate number of jobs. Such a rate may be impossible as well as undesirable.

Unlike the last great wave of automation panic, which hit the manufacturing sectors in the '50s and '60s, there may be no place for the displaced office worker to go. The service sector, which absorbed the displaced manufacturing workers in years past, is itself the object of automation today, particularly in high-employment industries like banking, insurance and retail trades.

The only remaining labor-intensive sector that might be able to absorb workers is human services, including health, recreation and education. Jobs in this sector tend to be non-profit.

While automation of the office has yet to make an appreciable impact on employment in Europe or the U.S., some signs of the future are visible.

New York's Citibank, for instance, the nation's second largest bank, has undertaken one of the most advanced and ambitious office automation plans in the country. It aims to install computer-driven word and data processors and electronic mail equipment in offices all around the world, each linked to all others by a massive and instantaneous telecommunications system.

By the end of this year, the plan calls for installation of such equipment in 1000 Citicorp offices. Eventually, the system will link equipment in as many as 6000 offices. According to a description of the system by International Data Corporation, which appeared in *Fortune* magazine, "The system has resulted in better customer relations, 50 percent better production and 40 percent staff reduction..."

In a talk to the American Institute of Industrial Engineers, Citibank vice president Bruce Hasenyager estimated that about 10 percent of middle-management personnel could be cut. "The salaries of 700 are saved," he said, "and the remaining 7300 can use the technological advances to manage more efficiently."

Hasenyager also suggested the day may not be far off when secretarial jobs will require a masters degree in business administration and will be regarded as an entry-level step into management.

Another illustration of the impact of the computer in the office is in the federal government. According to a report to Congress by the Comptroller General in 1977, the government employed two million civilians in 1950, when it had a \$40 billion budget, and two computers. By fiscal 1977 the budget had increased to \$400 billion, but personnel was only up 25 percent, to 2.5 million. However, the government by then "employed" no less than 10,000 computers.

American labor union officials are mostly in the dark about both the potential impact of automation and remedies for it. The International Typographical Union, which has been hardest hit in re-

cent years by the computerized newsroom and typesetter, essentially has agreed to its own demise.

Kitty Conlan, an official of the Service Employees International Union, which represents 600,000 workers in various service and recreation industries, says that the subject has been discussed by union officials but no action has ever been taken. "It seems like you're always trying to deal with things like this after they've happened," she said.

Conlan noted that when her union was first formed it represented mainly elevator operators and bowling alley pin-chasers. Thanks to automation in those fields, "we have maybe five elevator operators in the union today, and no pin-chasers."

Bill Reidy, research director of the Office and Professional Employees International, acknowledges that automation will "definitely" have an impact on his union.

"The employment creation effect is likely to be too small to offset the losses," he says. Besides, the union can have little impact on industry practices, as only about 100,000 office workers are organized, a tiny fraction of the millions of office workers in America. Reidy also blames the U.S. Department of Labor for "being asleep" as far as automation job impact is concerned.

The 750,000-strong Retail Clerks Union is also anticipating a problem from automated check-outs. While it is not yet widespread (only about 500 computerized check-outs are now installed in grocery stores), union official Walt Davis claims that increased use could "wipe out half the cashiers."

However, says Davis, "our position is that no trade union has ever effectively fought off automation. The best we can do is write clauses into our contracts that no one shall lose jobs because of automation. Then let attrition take care of it." ■

(© 1975 Pacific News Service)

Jon Stewart is an editor of *Pacific News Service*. John Markoff is an associate editor. This report was prepared with the assistance of reporters Christopher Paine and Lennie Siegel, and the Ford Foundation-funded Third Century America project on technology.

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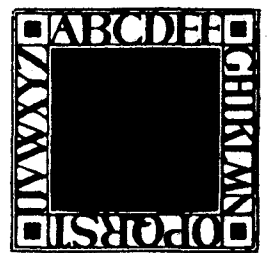
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## EDITORIAL

## The "Waiting for Teddy" addiction

One of the ironies of the American socialist left's sectarian legacy is its compulsive clinging to corporate-liberalism's leading strings. That legacy is still operating powerfully on the political strategy of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee as manifested in its recent convention. (*ITT*, Feb. 28.)

To be charged with a sectarian addiction may come as a surprise to DSOCers, who pride themselves—and rightly so—on breaking out of the sectarian mold by diligently working to create a socialist presence in American politics.

DSOC's activities around "Democracy '76" and the Democratic Agenda, its role at the Democratic party mid-term convention, its work with trade unionists, its involvement in explicitly socialist campaigns in state and local elections, its critique of New Deal liberalism, its projection of socialist programs relating to immediate issues of broad popular concern have all played a major role in weaning socialists away from sectarianism.

DSOC has earned the respect of many nonsocialist American leftists and the healthy respect of nonleft Americans, including many of the high and mighty. It has substantially contributed to opening the way to serious and fruitful activity and debate among socialists and leftists—activity and debate relevant to most Americans' experience and concerns.

The DSOC convention continued and consolidated the dominant trend in DSOC that rejects the social-democratic tradition of reforming corporate-capitalism.

It reaffirmed instead the call for the socialist transformation of American society as the central question of the American political agenda. In this spirit, the convention resolved to explore a merger with the New American Movement, a socialist organization generally perceived as standing to DSOC's left and distinguished for its own rejection of the social-democratic reform tradition.

Yet, as with other American socialist organizations, DSOC still has not shaken free of the sectarian addiction. The tell-tale symptom is its compulsive preoccupation with presidential politics, manifested now in the "Waiting for Teddy" syndrome.

What has this to do with sectarianism?

Among American socialists, sectarianism has always centered upon a dichotomy between "socialist" politics viewed as "too advanced" for the American people, and the popular (or "mass") politics of reform. It centered, in short, on contempt for the American people, bred by ideas of socialism rooted in other times and places.

The dichotomy has deterred some socialists from serious involvement in "corrupt" popular politics. But it has led most socialists to talk socialism to themselves and liberalism to the "masses." Whatever the rhetorical flourishes, sectarianism has dictated the practice of backing "more liberal" major party candidates for office (usually Democrats). In terms of energy and commitment, this practice has centered on the quadriennial presidential contests.

The sectarian element in all of this is the underlying assumption that the people are "not ready," "not good enough," for the gospel of socialism. The chronic result has been the failure of American socialists to create a pattern of cumulative development of socialist politics and an independent socialist movement in mainstream politics. This, in turn, has reinforced, as a wish-fulfilling prophesy, the view that the American people are "not ready," and has tightened the leading strings of liberalism in socialists' popular political activity.



'TEDDY AND I HAVE A VERY GOOD RELATIONSHIP -- I GET TO DO THE DIRTY WORK AND HE GETS TO RIDE UP THERE AND LOOK GOOD!'

The staying power of the sectarian addiction was dramatically apparent at the DSOC convention just because DSOC has made such great strides away from the sectarian-reform merry-go-round.

Judging from the convention's resolutions, Michael Harrington's keynote address, and national secretary Jack Clark's report, DSOC is firmly committed to the task of ending corporate-capitalism, not reforming it. They see New Deal liberalism as obsolete and socialist alternatives as immediately relevant to the political agenda of the new era. They also see that the Democratic party is no longer the vehicle of progressive change. Similar views are expressed by the statement of UAW-sponsored Progressive Alliance, and in IAM president Winpisinger's pamphlet, both circulated to DSOC delegates.

Yet the major strategy for DSOC's engagement in popular politics reverted to finding a more "progressive" corporate-liberal leader than Carter in 1980. Carter, said Harrington, must be replaced by a President who is "both a liberal and a Democrat," namely Sen. Kennedy.

This strategy flies in the face of DSOC's own political assessment. It can be no more successful in challenging corporate

power, or in building a popular socialist movement, than the strategy of backing Carter two years ago. (On this, see debate between *ITT* and Jack Clark, *ITT*, Dec. 20, 1976, Jan. 5 and Jan 12, 1977.) Harrington conceded as much in saying that though he'd support a Kennedy candidacy, "I wouldn't depend on him for solutions," and that as Kennedy came closer to the White House, he'd "move toward the center."

As we have argued in the past, without a powerful socialist movement with votes, seats in Congress, state legislatures, and city councils, the President, whatever the personal predilections, will act as the chief executive of the corporate order.

But it is not the job of socialists to help elect a "better" executive of the Corporate State. Socialists should be raising the issue of capitalism *versus* socialist democracy, in all its varied forms, in the electoral arena. We should center our attention on legislatures at all levels of government, and on creating a new political environment as the precondition for an anti-corporate presidential campaign.

None of this should be taken to imply that we oppose DSOC's involvement in program development within the Demo-

cratic party, or running explicitly socialist candidates in the Democratic party. We support that activity, as well as popular socialist politics in third parties and in nonelectoral arenas.

DSOC's proposal for a national conference next fall to forge a program "in search of a President and a Congress" goes far to recognize the importance of a popular politics oriented to the legislative branches of government and we welcome it. Nor are we opposed to a Democratic party primary challenge to Carter by a socialist candidate like Dellums or Harrington. It can contribute considerably to the spread of socialist consciousness and organization among the people and strongly aid socialist legislative campaigns.

We do oppose the "Waiting for Teddy" syndrome, the fixation on presidential strategies that throws the left behind a "more liberal" executive of the corporate order and, over and over again, results in the "liberal" President, once elected, treating the left as a disposable throw-away. It's time to end this sectarian addiction once and for all by breaking the hold of the liberal compulsion. Millions of Americans "are ready" for that. Isn't it time we socialists were, too? ■

## Letelier murderers still at large

We welcome the jury's verdict of guilty in the Letelier-Moffitt murder trial (*ITT*, Feb. 21). We know it was a careful, courageous and thoughtful decision.

The jury's verdict is a mandate to the U.S. government to bring the rest of the killers to justice. This includes not only Dionisio Suarez and Virgilio Paz, the two Cuban exiles now at large, but also the three officers of DINA, the Chilean secret police agency, now being held in Chile. They are Gen. Manuel Contreras, Col. Pedro Espinosa and Capt. Fernandez Larios.

They should be extradited to the United States for trial, for they murdered both Orlando Letelier, a former diplomat under U.S. government protection, and Ronni Moffitt, a U.S. citizen, on the streets of the U.S. capital. The U.S. government, the most powerful in the world, should use every legitimate means of pressure to secure their extradition.

Anything less will further compromise President Carter's human rights stand in world opinion. It will indicate to the world that the U.S. government does not honor its own judicial process. The verdict of a

jury is at the heart of U.S. justice; the State Department and the Department of Justice are now duty bound to carry out the letter and the spirit of the jury's decision.

President of Chile Gen. Augusto Pinochet's guilt in the murders is more obvious now than ever. It is indisputable that DINA agent Michael Townley, the chief prosecution witness, was involved not only in the murders of Letelier and Moffitt but in numerous other acts of violence against Pinochet's political enemies scattered throughout the world. This includes the murder of Gen. and Mrs. Prats in Buenos Aires and the attempted murder of Bernardo and Mrs. Leighton in Rome. The evidence is conclusive that DINA acted directly on Pinochet's orders. Townley was DINA's James Bond. He was the key terrorist for Chile and its president.

The U.S. Department of Justice, acting under the narrowest possible interpretation of the law, has tried to make this political murder into an ordinary homicide. It made a deal with the Chilean murderers not to reveal the details of the other crimes involving Pinochet and DINA. Neither God nor common sense ethics re-

quire compliance when pacts are made with the Devil.

The Chilean government, without honor or legitimacy from its inception, did all it could to sabotage this case. We now ask that honest law enforcement officers and government workers make public all they know of Pinochet's crimes against people in other nations. Any other course of action encourages more terrorism.

Behind the murders, bombings and kidnappings throughout the world by the Cuban exiles and by DINA stands the one man who benefits most. He is a man who will continue killing, kidnapping, torturing, just as he continues to suppress free trade unionism, political liberties and human rights. He is the man who, U.S. Ambassador to Chile George Landau reported, made a personal telephone call to the president of Paraguay to get visas for two Chilean murderers of Letelier and Moffitt to enter the U.S. This man is Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Justice in this murder case will never be complete until he, too, is brought to trial for the "official" terrorism that perpetrated these despicable murders. ■



## LETTERS

## SALT, TOO?

IN HIS COLUMN ON COLD-WAR Hysteria and militarism dominating Washington politics (*ITT*, Feb. 14), Harry Boyte makes a crucial error in judgment. Boyte discusses the growing right and center foreign policy belligerency, adding the right's strategy seems to focus on defeating the SALT II arms control treaty in the Senate. According to Boyte, the right's next objectives will include winning major increases in military spending, new civil defense programs, and the revival of the draft.

This intensifying militarism is creating a new political environment that is a threat to all progressive movements. But Boyte's analysis falters when he concludes: "We [the left and those who believe in peace and social justice] need to build support for SALT II—not as a 'solution' but because its defeat would be a disaster."

The left has no business building support for SALT. Rather, the left and the peace movement should focus on concrete anti-militarist activities—pressing for real cuts in military spending while simultaneously fighting against reductions in social programs, opposing the reactivation of the draft, and working against the developing trend toward American intervention in the Third World. Certainly the left should not endorse the high levels of military spending for which SALT II calls.

Students of military affairs, such as Michael Klare, have pointed out the proposed arms control treaty includes many of the modernization programs and new weapons development programs the cold warriors have been demanding. *Washington Post* correspondent George Wilson wrote last fall that by fiscal year 1983, when bills for new strategic weapons permitted under SALT II would be coming due, the Pentagon budget would total \$172.7 billion (adjusted for inflation) compared with \$126 billion for fiscal year 1979.

As Boyte observes, the political debate in Washington is between the right and the center. If the left is ever to have a significant impact on Washington decision-making, it will do so by staking out an independent and principled position, rather than trailing after the opportunist center of American politics.

Furthermore, analysis, if it is meant to be taken seriously, should not confuse political romanticism with accomplishment. Boyte's column ends with an eloquent quote from John F. Kennedy: "Every man, woman, and child lives under the nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us." Too bad Boyte failed to check the record of Kennedy administration military spending. The Pentagon budget rose from \$44.7 billion in fiscal year 1961 to \$51.2 billion in fiscal year 1964. The Kennedy administration was one of militarism cloaked in the rhetoric of idealistic patriotism.

—Jack Colhoun

## ONEUPPERSONSHIP

I HAVE FOLLOWED WITH SOME AMUSEMENT the efforts of your copy desk to desex the English language, but in Robert McClory's report on St. Mary's Alternative High School (*ITT*, Feb. 21), they have gone beyond mere grammatical trendiness into utter nonsense. Towards the end of the piece, the reader is told, "But this gentleperson's agreement broke down in early 1978."

The meaning of the phrase "gentlemen's agreement" hinges on its archaic chivalrous overtones. Gelding the gentlemen who make agreements secured only by their honor does not advance the role of women or the purity of socialist journalism; it reduces the mother tongue to gibberish. Or should I say "mother person" tongue?

—John Fleischman  
Santa Monica, Cal.

## THE FIFTH HORSEMAN

WHOMEVER OF YOUR STAFF SELECTED that Oliphant cartoon depicting Khomeini as a "Fifth Horseman" (*ITT*, Feb. 14) committed a serious error in judgment. The cartoon was part of a concerted campaign in the commercial press of lies, distortions and calumny against the Iranian revolution.

Worst, it was not in keeping with Diana Johnstone's accompanying article, or what *ITT* has been saying editorially.

I hope the error had nothing to do with sectarian fears and suspicions of a revolution led by a religious figure.

—John Rossen  
Chicago

## SOVIET ANTI-ANTI-SOVIETISM

INASMUCH AS EXEGESIS OF THE Soviet press to determine whether or not it reflects official anti-Semitism has become a regular feature of *ITT*'s Letters columns, permit me a contribution.

On Jan. 8, 1977, a terrorist bomb went off in a Moscow subway car, killing seven and wounding 37. Recently a man named Zatikian was tried for this, found guilty, condemned to death and executed.

Dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov protested the trial, sentence and execution, and the Western media picked that up. On Feb. 9, this year, *Izvestia* carried a lengthy letter by a man who was in the bombed car. His teen-age brother was killed and his wife and pre-school daughter were seriously wounded. His letter included the following:

"One more thing. At the trial I heard [the bomber] Zatikian's malicious anti-Semitic shouts in the spirit of those who organized the Black-Hundred pogroms in prerevolutionary Russia. Zatikian's hatred for Jews did not stop short of trying even to cite Hitler in seeking to justify his position before the court. Consider that, Citizen Sakharov!"

I read about that trial in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. It did not report either the terrorist's anti-Semitism or the fact that the official Soviet daily (nine mil-

lion circulation) gave a citizen a quarter-page to deal (among others) with that aspect.

—William M. Mandel  
Berkeley, Cal.

## CREDIT

ANTI-SEMITISM IS ABHORRENT, whether perpetrated by right-wing fascism or left-wing totalitarianism. It is to your credit that IN THESE TIMES has acknowledged this simple fact. Truly progressive people, if they are at all honest to themselves, cannot condemn one and be blind to the other.

—AL Kalmon  
New York City

## KEEP ON TRUCKIN'

I AM A JAZZ AND POPULAR MUSIC Reporter for the *Oregon Journal*, a daily newspaper in Portland, and a subscriber to *ITT*. I thought Bruce Dancis' "Dear Critics" piece (*ITT*, Feb. 21) stated the issues involved in covering rock music very well. The more perspectives on reality music can convey, the better—as in good reggae music's simultaneous sensuality, political rebelliousness, and spiritual awareness—but human beings are too wonderfully complex (including socialists) for us to try and fit art into rigid ideological specifications.

Some people will of course continue to criticize Dancis and other writers for attempting to deal honestly with the contradictions of popular culture, but these people are perhaps caught up in the contradictions themselves. I hope *ITT* stands by its intention to continue writing about rock'n'roll.

—Rick Mitchell  
Portland, Ore.

**Editor's Note:** Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters, or at least write clearly and leave wide margins.

## DIALOG

By George Hunsinger

## Dangerous change in U.S. nuclear strategy

DISARMAMENT IS TOO IMPORTANT A TOPIC TO BE SIDETRACKED by redbaiting. Rather than respond directly to Mike Lavelle, whose assault on the Riverside Church disarmament convocation unfortunately falls into this category, let me explain what the convocation was really about. ¶Today the nuclear arms race is entering into a new stage—a stage so dangerous and so volatile that it may well be terminal. According to Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's little-noticed annual report issued in January, the Carter administration has revolutionized U.S. nuclear strategy. It has transformed the older strategy of "deterrence" into an offensive strategy geared toward fighting a nuclear war, which the administration believes it will soon be possible to win.

This could be the most important government announcement in our lifetimes, for it assumes that a nuclear war can be kept "limited." This assumption is very risky, for once nuclear weapons are unleashed the probability of escalation is enormous. One wrong guess about what the other side will do and an uncontrollable chain reaction would lead straight to

nuclear holocaust.

Behind this strategy is a new generation of nuclear weapons. With the U.S. leading the way, both sides are developing weapons systems, such as the cruise missile, with warheads of almost pin-point accuracy. The idea is that accurate warheads could be used to wipe out military targets one at a time in a war that would continue over a period of weeks or even months. This is what the Pentagon calls "flexible response."

The new strategy not only assumes that a nuclear war can be kept "limited," but also implies hostile intentions. If the other

side can threaten your weapons, then during a crisis you are left with a hair-trigger nervousness that the other side might shoot first. Accuracy brings tremendous pressures to strike first, or else to launch on warning if you think the other side has initiated an attack.

Like all "advances" in the arms race, the new generation of nuclear weapons leaves the world far more precarious than before. Accurate warheads are not needed for a credible deterrent and a defensive strategy. The development of these weapons should be banned or postponed, as the Soviets have proposed on several occasions.

Rather than test the sincerity of this proposal, which could lead to actual arms reductions on both sides, the U.S. is forging ahead with the new weapons systems, and the Soviets are scrambling to match them.

Other aspects of the arms race are also ominous:

•**Nuclear proliferation:** The nuclear arms race is no longer a two-sided affair. Thanks to the spread of so-called peaceful nuclear technology, 35 nations, including some of the most oppressive governments in the world, now have or soon will have the ability to make nuclear weapons of their own. So it is no longer a question of "two scorpions in a bottle" but of 35—and the bottle hasn't gotten any bigger.

•**Lack of conventional arms restraint:** Despite repeated Carter administration pledges to the contrary, the U.S. continues to be the world's leading arms merchant. U.S. sales of sophisticated conventional weapons not only promote regional arms races. They also supply means of oppression to authoritarian regimes.

The social consequences of military spending: Carter's proposed budget boils

down to this: the military is allowed to flourish while the poor are left to languish. What kind of society puts its priorities in weapons and cuts back human service programs? A growing body of evidence shows that military spending fuels inflation, contributes to unemployment, and ignores human needs. As Martin Luther King once wrote: "A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death."

According to defense analyst Earl Ravenal, only about 30 percent of the military budget goes toward the direct defense of essential national interests. Massive cutbacks in military spending are needed. So is planning for economic conversion—away from our economy of death toward an economy of life.

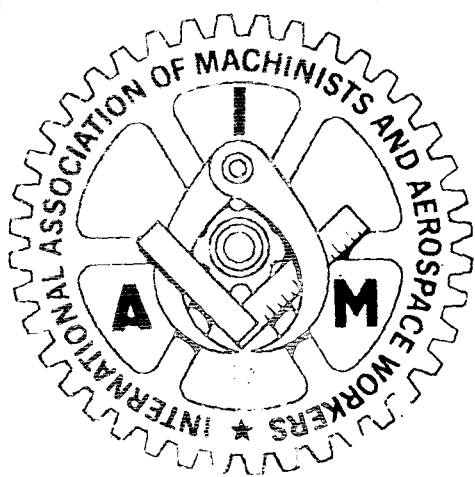
These kinds of points were raised at the Riverside Church disarmament convocation. One of the merits of the convocation is that it is helping to reach a new constituency for reversing the arms race—the religious community.

The convocation has led to the scheduling of 63 smaller teach-ins around the country, the initiation of disarmament courses in colleges and seminaries, and the call for a "Peace Sabbath/Peace Sunday: The People of the Pentagon?" when sermons on the arms race will be delivered across the country on March 30-April 1.

It cannot be unpatriotic to oppose the madness of U.S. military policy. As Dietrich Bonhoeffer once suggested, true patriotism sometimes means "not just to bandage the victims under the wheel, but to put a stop to the wheel itself."

George Hunsinger works as a theologian with the Riverside Church Disarmament Program. He is the editor of *Karl Barth and Radical Politics* (Westminster, 1976).





This second installment in our Road to 1980 series is a speech by George Poulin, general vice president of the International Association of Machinists at the union's legislative conference, Washington, D.C., Jan. 23. Poulin's remarks were sent to *IN THESE TIMES* in response to our request to William W. Winpisinger, IAM international president, for his views on the tasks facing the left in the U.S. today.

The Democratic Party is ripe for a real ideological fight and split.

The Carter administration's adoption of traditional conservative and Republican Party principles—fiscal conservatism—is the most visible sign of impending rupture.

Fiscal conservatism means Carter has been taken in by Corporate America and the closely allied professional economists fraternity, which, with but few exceptions, touts the traditional free market/private enterprise brand of economics.

Fiscal conservatism also means that Carter has turned his back on the constituency that gave him his narrow margin of victory over Gerald Ford. That constituency was heralded as the rebirth of the New Deal Coalition, which included trade unions, minorities, intellectuals, activist church and peace groups, environmentalists and the thin ranks of wealthy liberals. The poor, deprived and unorganized, it is also assumed, played a role in that coalition and in Carter's victory—if they were active and voted on election day.

Now that Carter has changed stripes, these social democratic groups are groping for new leadership.

Doug Fraser's Grand Coalition of All Coalitions idea is apparently in response to this vacuum. But Fraser expressly does not want to break with President Carter and has no intention of splitting from the Democratic Party.

The statement of principles adopted by that coalition is a hodge-podge of glittering generalities, which, though designed to offend no one, provides little attraction for anyone, either. Apparently, Fraser wants to reform the party from within, without making waves—or causing ruptures.

And therein lies the problem. How in the hell are dissident Democrats going to reform from within when their leaders have kicked them out?

It is not simply Carter's stripes that have changed. At the organizational level, the Democratic National Committee, except during the brief McGovern presidential bid, has been directed by business-oriented and conservative chair people since the days of Lyndon Johnson. Marvin Watson, Robert Strauss and now chairman John White never were social-minded Democrats. And coming from the Texas oil/financial crowd, they never pretended to be social democrats.

Under their leadership, there was and is no provision for ideological debate or development of social programs, reform rules and mini-conventions notwithstanding. Witness the Memphis mini-convention last December.

Congressional Democrats are changing their spots, too. After the 89th Congress, which passed LBJ's Great Society programs, (but didn't repeal Taft Hartley's 14b), creeping conservatism infected the Democratic majority. It was clearly discernible during the 1974-75 recession, when Congress refused to consider the original Humphrey-Hawkins bill and wouldn't even provide health insurance for the unemployed. In fact, National Health Insurance itself is no closer to reality than it was when first conceived over 40 years ago.

# THE ROAD TO 1980

## Needed: a labor-based third party of the silent left majority

**Corporate America is the majority stockholder in the Democratic Party. Labor has no place in it as it exists and behaves today.**

In the last Congress, natural gas deregulation and tax cuts for the rich, among a long list of other issues, brought out the pronounced conservative spots on the Democrats.

With the elections of 1978, creeping conservatism broke into a fever of outright fiscal conservatism, as one Democratic candidate after another adopted the anti-government, anti-spending, balanced budget line to save their skins.

Much of this rush to the right has been inspired by the rise of corporate Political Action Committees. In the last election, corporate PAC's and business trade association PACs outspent labor nearly four to one. More significantly, Corporate America became the majority stockholder in the Democratic Party in Congress, while maintaining its major interest in the Republican Party.

It is in this scene that trade unions and their allies are groping.

Few trade union leaders seem to realize it, or at least aren't saying so, but labor has been abandoned by the Democratic Party—in Congress, in the White House and at the DNC. Many Democratic members of Congress are frank to say labor has no place else to go, so will remain in the fold. "A 60 percent voting record is better than a 10 percent voting record," as the saying goes. In other words, being three-fifths pro-labor or a three-fifths Democrat is better than a 100 percent Republican. There's nothing in between.

Carter's strategy seems to be to keep the UAW and one or two other large unions in the tent, and let the others be damned. They've nowhere else to go either—and besides, he's going after the Republican vote, not the traditional Democratic vote.

So it is clear, labor has no real place in the Democratic Party as it exists and behaves today.

But then, one could also say there is no Democratic Party; just two Republican parties.

Obscuring the conflict is an insistence, on the part of many Democrats and media critics, that the Democratic Party's real dilemma is that New Deal liberalism is dead. A new program is needed, these critics say, to meet the times and challenges.

This is an ill-founded assumption. Democrats may be more comfortable with their newly found fiscal conservatism and anti-union biases than they are with an expanding economy, guaranteed jobs, fair taxes and real wage gains for workers, but just because they don't talk about these latter problems doesn't mean they don't exist.

Those are old and enduring problems that have never been solved—not in the '40s, '50s or '60s. New Deal solutions never were fully permitted to be implemented. Too often, workable solutions were compromised through the legislative process to the point that they became unworkable. And that was always a tack of conservatives and New Deal foes; that and making sure New Deal-type programs

were starved and underfunded.

The alternative is to be found on the left side of center—not in a further shift to the right along the political spectrum.

### What people want.

People want change not business as usual. People want an increase in their level of living, not lowered expectations. If the predicted and planned economic recession sets in hard this year or next, then fiscal conservatism and the Democratic Party's Republicanism aren't going to serve the people.

They will move left—not right—to get the changes necessary. In fact, many may already be on the left, but we don't hear from them. No one represents them. It may just be that these silent leftists constitute that large bloc of voters defecting from the polls in growing numbers each year.

In any case, a left-of-center program would call for some publicly-owned entities in the basic necessities of life: energy, food, housing and health. It would also call for nationalization of transportation, banking, primary metals and some secondary industries.

Direct and targeted public investment in these industries would provide yardstick competition for monopolistic private enterprise and would give the consumers and workers a handle on investment and pricing policies now held exclusively by a few corporate executives and boards of directors.

Corollary with restructuring of industry, job creating and public R&D programs could be implemented. Planning in the economy would be removed from a few private profit-oriented firms to the public sector.

At the same time there would remain the need for improved New Deal-type programs in taxation, education, and income maintenance.

The idea is to redistribute wealth and income away from the top of the economic pyramid where it is now concentrated, toward those at the bottom and middle.

One more hard-hitting recession may do more to reform the Democrats than anything else.

But in the event that doesn't happen, then labor and the trade unions will seriously have to consider formation, in alliance with other orphaned groups, of a new third party.

Coalitions are intermediate and necessary, but are effective only if built around single issues or individual personalities. In the longer run, they tend to come apart at the seams and are incapable of developing comprehensive economic and social programs.

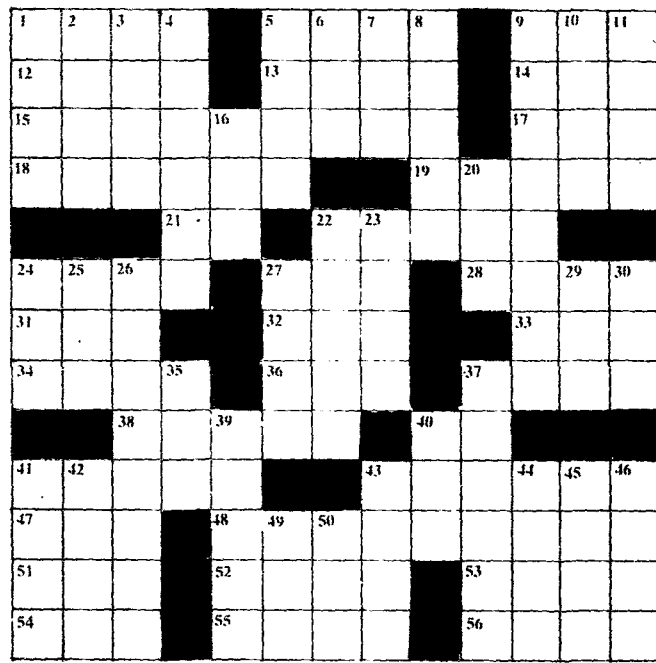
A third party, with the understanding that it is a political party being constructed, would appear to have a much better chance of succeeding.

We can start building that party now, by naming a "shadow cabinet" to speak out and deliver alternatives to the major party programs.

That ought to make a few eyes pop and give some hope to the disenchanted. ■

## Case by Case

By Jay Shepherd



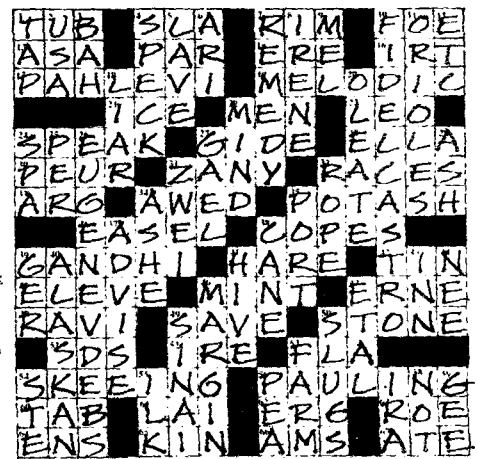
- 4 Discourage
- 5 Gait
- 6 Parseghian
- 7 Fuel
- 8 Choose
- 9 Revolving motion
- 10 Usher
- 11 Con
- 16 Famed Johnny
- 20 OPEC asset
- 22 Document
- 23 Common catch-all
- 24 Guided
- 25 Rowboat feature
- 26 Swan-like
- 27 Philosophical term
- 29 King Cole
- 30 Greek vowel
- 35 \_\_\_\_ relief (sculptural type)
- 37 Susided
- 39 Popular pie filler
- 40 Lettuce
- 41 Wind
- 42 Famed canal
- 43 Post
- 44 Reign
- 45 Singer Adams
- 46 Type of chromosome
- 49 Summer drink
- 50 Understand

### ACROSS

- 1 Beans
- 5 Knight's understudy
- 9 Schoolgirls' org.
- 12 Dismounted
- 13 Soviet sea
- 14 Craving
- 15 Graduated series
- 17 Tattletale
- 18 Candy
- 19 Raccoon's relation
- 21 16 oz.
- 22 \_\_\_\_ four (small cake)
- 24 Theater box
- 27 Dine
- 28 Queue
- 31 Unit of corn
- 32 Bath, for one
- 33 Morsel for Nellie
- 34 Dowdy
- 36 Salt, in Paris
- 37 Theatrical org.
- 38 Prance
- 40 Hway radio station
- 41 Foolish ones
- 43 Rose
- 47 Fido's comment
- 48 Record, of sorts
- 51 N.Y. campus
- 52 Indian Ocean gulf
- 53 Director Kazan
- 54 Slippery character
- 55 Lack
- 56 Act

### DOWN

- 1 Direct, as a glance
- 2 Choir member
- 3 Chanteuse Edith



Solution to last week's puzzle.



Z. EISENSTEIN

## Liberal anti-feminist politics lies behind Carter's firing of Abzug

**THE RECENT FIRING OF BELLA Abzug** along with President Carter's support of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) begs for analysis. Most reporting explains Abzug's dismissal as chair of the National Advisory Committee on Women as a personality clash between her and the President. It is said that she overstepped the bounds of legitimate criticism. The Committee's report questioned Carter's anti-inflationary program as ignoring women's needs, it criticized large military expenditures as extravagant, and it requested a firmer administrative commitment to ERA. Possibly the most controversial was the committee's condemnation of the administration for the ban on Medicaid abortions.

Abzug was held responsible for the report. Her dismissal was staged in such a way (just after she had publicly stated that she and Carter were getting along well) as to try to make her look like a fool. The impact was to make the issues identified with Abzug look ridiculous.

Carter is trying to demobilize the radical faction of the liberal feminist movement. Abzug's firing fit that tactic.

Abzug's firing reflects internal conflict within the state over woman's role in society today. It involves different views in high circles on how to salvage the troubled nuclear family. It also centers on how to demobilize the radical faction of the feminist movement and curtail the



growing liberal feminist consciousness among American women.

"Conservative" forces are trying to reassert traditional family values by challenging existing abortion rulings, publicly-funded day care, the ratification of the ERA, and homosexual rights. These four policy areas represent the arena of conflict between the conservative right and the center liberals.

The center liberals, represented by Carter, support the program of stabilizing the family while protecting the image and reality of the working mother. ERA is seen as necessary to this strategy.

Carter's problem is to figure out how to keep the political interpretation of the ERA as narrow as possible, given the conflicts which exist within the state itself between the center liberals and the conservative right. He is also trying to contend with the new levels of liberal feminist consciousness in the country. Carter's faction can't ignore the conservative right, but he realizes he can't ignore the liberal feminists without possibly creating fur-

ther instability for the "family" resulting from their discontent.

Phyllis Schlafly represents that wing of the conservative faction that does not understand, or does not want to accept, that the traditional picture of womanhood is outdated, even in terms of the needs of the state. The center liberals know that it is.

Elements of the anti-feminist backlash reject the very idea of the working woman as a secondary wage earner and mother. They do not understand why elements of the state support it.

Anti-feminist activity heightens the conflicts the center liberals wish to mediate. Carter understands that woman's position in both the family and the labor force is reflected in their liberal demands for equality, and as such must be recognized in the law. Carter's support of the ERA reflects this recognition.

The right obviously believes it needs to reassert notions of the traditional family and mother by denying many of the feminist gains made by women for abortion and day care and equal rights. Center liberals know that these gains are related to women's ability to work and remain in the labor force, and understand them as a necessity in an economy where the wages of 46 percent of the work force are unable to support a family of four. Carter's support of the ERA can be understood as the liberal attempt to preserve motherhood and the family while at the same time maintaining woman's position in the wage economy.

If the state through the ERA (and the whole structure of the law) can appear to bring satisfaction to liberal feminists, it will have won a great victory in the struggle to reassert patriarchal domination—in once again demobilizing liberal feminists by letting women think they have won real equality when they haven't.

That is why the state has been trying to coopt the feminist movement through the Houston conference and ERA.

What is important for all feminists to realize is that the aim of the state is to stabilize the family by conceding women's legal equality through the ERA.

Hence, when we fight for the ERA we must do so with the understanding that it must be connected to other struggles

which affect the structuring of our everyday lives. The passage of the ERA is only part of the strategy for the struggle for equality. It is potentially a *progressive* tool we can use in our further struggles. With that understanding we won't be fooled by what the state will try to palm off as a feminist victory. It rather will be understood as a small hurdle passed in the long struggle toward liberation. We can't let 1979 be 1920 all over again.

Abzug's dismissal was Carter's attempt, in the face of right-wing pressure, to reassert the narrow legal meaning of the ERA against the broader view that involves questions of the economy, abortion and homosexuality. Whether Abzug is actually any more progressive than her replacement, Marjorie Bell Chambers, is irrelevant, because Abzug represents these broader issues to the public.

Chambers is not connected to the radical elements of liberal feminism. The *New York Times* (Jan. 17) reported that while she "has been active in fighting for improvements in the economic and legal status of women, she has generally stayed away from the more controversial issues, such as abortion and lesbian rights."

The ERA is Carter's indirect attempt at stabilizing the traditional nuclear family by demobilizing feminist discontentment. But the conservatives think the family can be saved only by fighting abortion and limiting women's choices. Nevertheless, even on this level of conflict, the liberal faction is still in control. It is trying hard to keep feminism from undermining the supposed stability of the family and hence society. In this sense, Carter's support of the ERA is actually anti-feminist, if feminism means redefining the choices open to women.

We must understand that the motives of the state are directed at keeping women in their place as secondary wage earners and as mothers.

The goals of feminism cannot be met by the liberal state, which has no commitment to women's liberation. For feminists, the fight for ERA is only the beginning and not the end.

**Zillah Eisenstein** is professor of politics, Ithaca College, N.Y. She is editor of *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (MR, 1978).

MANNING MARABLE

FROM THE GRASSROOTS

## Weber case offers new opportunity for broad anti-racist coalition

**THE NEO-CONSERVATIVE AS-**sault against black people in general and against the principle of affirmative action in particular has culminated in Brian Weber's "reverse discrimination lawsuit." (ITT, Feb. 14) Weber is a white lab technician who worked at a Kaiser Aluminum chemical plant in Gramercy, La. Before 1974, no woman held a skilled craft job there. Approximately 2 percent of all skilled craft jobs were held by blacks. In 1974, the United Steelworkers union negotiated a contract that committed both labor and management to a policy of affirmative action. The agreement, which also holds for all Kaiser plants in the U.S., states that one-half of all new training positions in the skilled crafts should go to either blacks or women.

Weber sued to overturn the affirmative action clause, charging that the provision unduly punished him for simply being white and male. Two lower courts agreed with Weber that he was a victim



of "reverse discrimination." Two months ago the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case.

The implications of a Weber victory go far beyond the limited impact of the Bakke decision. The Bakke decision was aimed primarily at eliminating affirmative action programs within higher education. The Weber case, on the other hand, directly involves thousands of jobs that blacks and working women have gained at the expense of racism and sexism at places of work.

In an interview with this writer, Wel-

don J. Rougeau, the director of the Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, expressed his deep concern about the outcome of the Weber case. "The Bakke case gives us still a great deal of latitude," Rougeau states, even though "it sets some limitations." A victory for Weber "would be a devastating blow to affirmative action," the result of which "would probably destroy us."

Rougeau, a black lawyer, former civil rights activist and native of Lake Charles, La., states that his office would be unable to enforce existing executive orders issued during the Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter administrations, which extended the principle of equal employment opportunity. "We would be so deeply immersed in litigation that we would not be able to do anything. The beauty of the executive order program," he explains, "is that it allows the employer to look at his own organization, to do the self analysis, and to set...reasonable timetables for a fair realization of its goals."

Rougeau and other former political activists in the Carter administration express the fear that the Weber case could pose great dangers even to the viability of a minority presence in some industries. "If you take away the ability of voluntary compliance on the part of contractors working with unions," Rougeau states, "then they're not going to do anything. They're going to say, 'Sue me' and 'Prove it.'"

As great as the potential dangers are with a Weber victory, the opponents of Weber are faced with a tremendous opportunity for united organization, education and principled struggle. The Weber case is a direct assault on the struggle of women, blacks and other ethnic minorities for equal treatment and equal opportunity through their labor—a bread-and-butter, clear-cut issue of central importance during a period of rising inflation and unemployment rates.

The struggle for progressive unity

around the Weber case has already begun. In October, the National Organization for Women passed a resolution denouncing Weber. Last month, the Louisiana NAACP endorsed a new coalition, the New Orleans Committee to Overturn the Weber Decision and Defend Affirmative Action. Labor union activists, feminists and students recognize that Weber's implications transcend racial and ethnic lines.

As the Weber case progresses and gains more exposure in the national media, our opportunity for organizing proponents in favor of the principle of human equality grows. No matter what the outcome of Weber in the Supreme Court, the victory of racism and reaction can only occur when progressive people fail to unite in struggle.

**Manning Marable** is professor of history at the University of San Francisco, and fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta, Ga.

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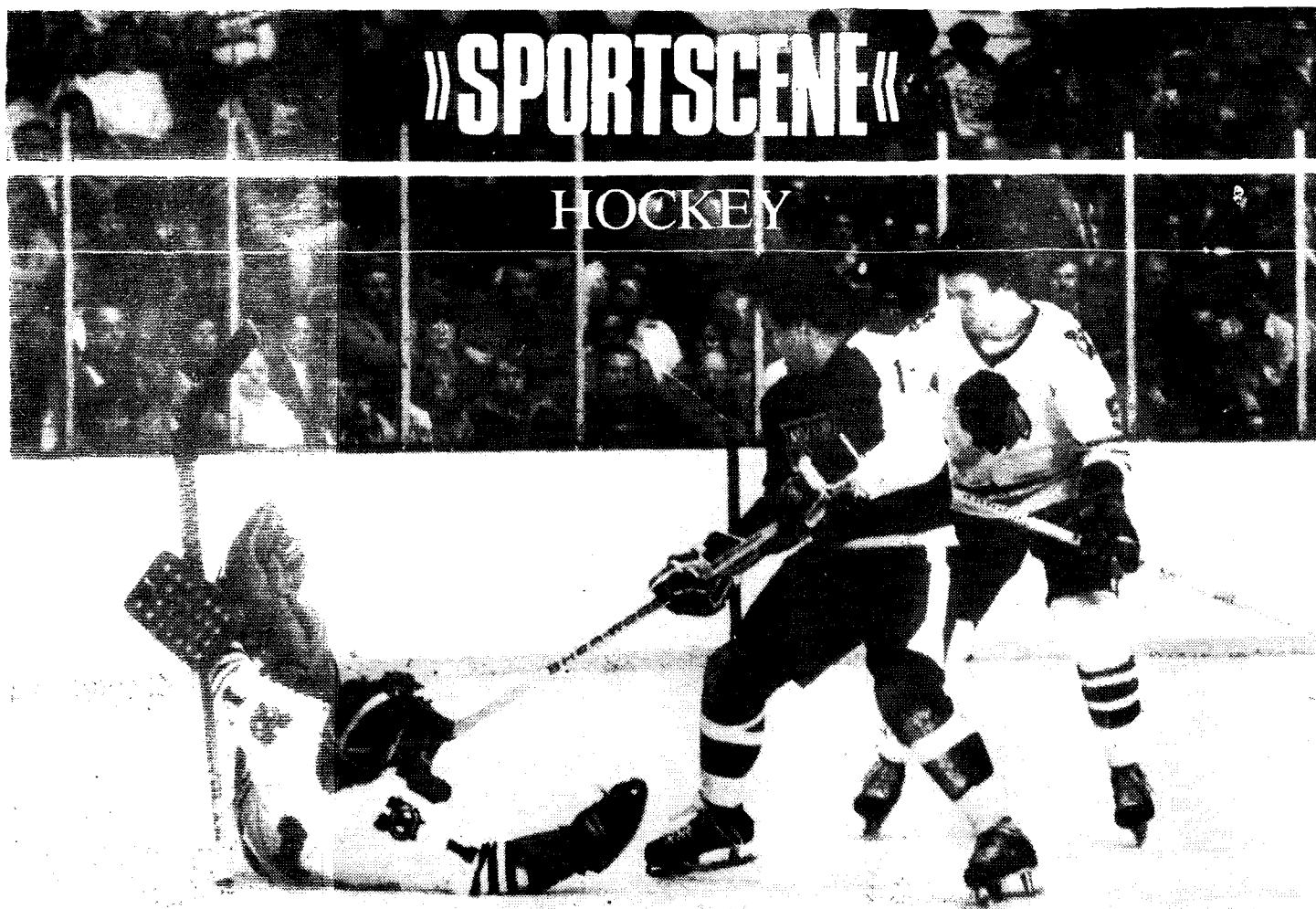
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## »SPORTSCENE«

## HOCKEY



# Violence replaces skill on ice

By James Celenza

**C**ANADIAN HOCKEY IS PRETTY violent. Body checking is vigorous; spearing and butting with the stick, though infrequent, does occur; players often get hit with the puck. And there is the fighting—fights in almost every game, plus the constant threat of a fight. Violence lingers over Canadian hockey like dull smoke from a sweaty cigar.

Hockey violence is in many ways no different from other kinds of sporting violence. Certainly having Jack Lambert sitting on your face isn't very pleasant. And basketball's inherent violence has become more noticeable, and because of the expansion of designed plays "down low," has become more dangerous. Even baseball has its own fighting hallmark: the bench clearing brawl. But unlike hockey, in these sports if you fight you get tossed out of the game.

Hockey players are supposed to fight. It's part of the way you maintain respect for your team and critical for intimidating your opponents. While the best players on a team, La Fluer, Clarke, Ratelle, normally don't and won't have to fight, they are often goaded and it is up to a teammate to step in for them and retaliate.

What marks Canadian hockey is the overwhelming hostility and bitterness, the cankerous hatred of one team for another. It is the only major sport that has enforcers—the absolute stiff, a skull thumper who can barely stand (let alone skate), kept just in case the score gets (either way) out of hand. Enforcers usually fight one another, though everyone has been in a fight at one time, even the goalies.

In football, a far more difficult and bruising game, two 260 pound men will butt and scratch, pinch and slap at each other for 60-odd minutes. But they will shake hands, they'll talk. Even during a game opposing players will nod, talk, slap on the ass, help each other up. (This tradition arose among black players and has become a general sporting code.) There is a subtle though difficult solidarity.

Hockey is as close to a war as you ever might want to get. You don't talk to an opposing player, unless you want to fight. You do not help anyone up. That's the code. (The only player I have ever seen act otherwise is Peter McNab of the Bruins.) The only time you shake hands is the last and deciding game of a play-off series, and even then some players refuse. Hockey is a game of sneers and grudges.

The Challenge Cup, and the recent series of matches between the Soviet Wings and NHL teams, revealed the lim-

itations of the Canadian tradition. Sure, the games were a test of different styles, though the Russians were doing more forechecking and body checking than anyone had expected. The games also highlighted marked differences in sporting codes.

When the Russians lost the first game of the Challenge Cup they made adjustments. In the next two games they sent two men in to forecheck and sent a defenseman against the boards to prevent the NHL all-stars from bringing the puck out along the boards. In their own zone the Russians pulled their forwards up tight, effectively keeping the Canadians from getting the puck in front of the net.

After losing the second game, the Canadians made no adjustments. The Canadians merely cranked up their basic strategy: intimidation. Hit and hit and hit; take the body and take it as hard as you can.

The Canadians ran at everything and hit anything. There were a lot of elbow and stick checks, a lot of boarding and charging—all illegal and none of it called by the referee. (Interestingly enough, the first game which was very closely called, the Canadians won; the last in which they were embarrassed was not even called at all.) The Canadians threatened fights, started two, but the Russians backed away.

The code had failed. The Russians were not intimidated. They took the hitting and did not throw the puck away. They played their positions. They passed. They skated. And they scored. Often.

Of course, the Canadians were not a team. They were all-stars. As such they did not have the kind of team experience, the delicate camaraderie that a team can achieve. But the Russians have played NHL teams and with considerable success. They beat NHL teams in NHL rinks

by NHL rules and with NHL referees. (NHL referees call the game by the Canadian code.)

But even that is not the point. The Russians tried to improve, to change, to think and to play better fundamental hockey. The Canadians tried to imitate a street gang and run the Russians off their turf.

## Tough code.

The social basis of the Canadian code is rooted in a working class code of manliness. The hockey code reflects the meaning of the game to a miner's kid from Flinflan: a way of getting out of the mines. But it also reflects a persistent response within working class life, one both damaging and realistic: be hard, be tough. Whatever happens, don't show any weakness. If you do, they will destroy you.

Sports exploits and disciplines this response. It provides a way of practicing the code without having the cops come looking for you. In my neighborhood, it worked. The fear of being kicked off a team was a powerful deterrent. If you were on a team—well, you had something. You were connected to a socially sanctioned means of being crazy with your body. And there were many benefits: none of the local gangs ever went after an athlete.

For the people who shared the code sports touched an innate sense that the energy they had was something beautiful. They felt pride, respect and limitations to brutality and meanness. Within a play, a move, a sudden hitch in the body, within a determined doggedness, there was a silent and cunning beauty.

The Canadian style, the Canadian hockey code trades against this. It willingly takes toughness as a replacement for fundamental skills. Its failure is in not understanding that the toughness is in having and practicing the skills.

Several NHL teams have only two or three players who can skate, handle and shoot the puck effectively. The rest are taught and expected to hit and to get hit. They will never feel what the former hockey great Eric Nesterenko felt and saw. "I'm leaning into a turn. You pick up the centrifugal forces and you lay in it. For a few second, like a gyroscope, they support you. I'm in full flight and my head is turned. I'm concentrating on something and I'm grinning. That's the way I like to picture myself. I'm something else there. I'm on another level of existence, just being in pure motion."

# NHL owners play for blood

By Marty Jezer

**I**N THE WAKE OF THE SOVIET Union's stunning victory over an all-star team comprised of the National Hockey League's best professional players, hockey fans in Canada are accusing the NHL owners, especially in the U.S., of destroying the quality of the Canadian game.

The three-game Challenge Cup series was played the second week in February in New York's Madison Square Garden. Hockey is one of the few professional sports without a network contract. Although most of the major league franchises are in American cities, the sport has yet to build the kind of mass audience that it enjoys in Canada. The Challenge Cup was supposed to convince TV moguls and corporate advertisers that NHL hockey was ready for prime time.

The series was a total flop from the NHL's point of view. Not only did the visiting Soviets destroy the myth of professional invincibility, but the American media hardly took notice of the games and the networks did not come up with a TV offer.

"We've been developing goons in the last ten years instead of hockey players, and this came out today," Serge Savard, an All Star defenseman who plays for the Montreal Canadiens, told reporters in the losers' dressing room.

Savard's comment has been echoed by many Canadians in the days following the series.

In the 1960s, the NHL began to expand into American cities where hockey had never been played. From six teams the league grew to 17; 14 of the franchises were in the U.S. Meanwhile, a rival league, the World Hockey Association (WHA), began bidding for the established players, making hockey salaries comparable to the salaries in other professional sports. WHA hockey is inferior to that of the NHL and its American franchises have not done well. But its Canadian teams—Winnipeg, Edmonton and Quebec City—play to sell-out crowds. It would make sense for the two leagues to consolidate.

But economics work against this. Canadian cities have the fans, but they lack the large populations and the marketing demographics to attract American television and American corporate advertisers. And only with a lucrative network contract will all the teams be able to afford high-priced players.

The expansion of professional hockey has lowered the quality of play. Many of the teams are so unevenly matched, that sophisticated fans have lost interest. A game between the Montreal Canadiens (the N.Y. Yankees of hockey) and a team like the St. Louis Blues is as promising as a game between the Yankees and some Class AA minor league baseball team.

The owners have encouraged violence and rewarding offense-minded players on the assumption that high scoring games and knock-'em-down hockey will make the game a popular attraction. The more overt violence has been curbed since the early '70s, when it was a scandal, but

referees continue to let the bullies have their way, and physical intimidation rather than team hockey remains the standard of play. The owners recruit the brawniest and roughest players to fill out their rosters.

This has had a brutalizing effect on minor league and amateur hockey throughout Canada. In Canada hockey is organized like American baseball. Each community has its own PeeWee and Bantam leagues, where kids supposedly learn basic skills and the better players graduate to Junior Hockey and the professional minors.

But the style of play is determined by the NHL. Youngsters and their coaches take their cues from the pros. The "goons" have already come to dominate junior play. Small players, no matter how well they skate or handle the puck, no longer even bother to try out.

"The corporate base of the NHL is in the U.S.," Tom Watt, coach of the hockey team at the University of Toronto, told the Montreal Star. Watt doubted whether the NHL had any concern about Canadian hockey, even though the future professional stars will be developed in its ranks. "In some cities in the States," Watt noted, "hockey is promoted like roller derby and professional wrestling. They want a show...they play up the violence."

The NHL All-Stars, their pride deeply hurt, want a rematch. The better players in the league may even be willing to adopt the disciplined teamwork of Soviet hockey. But the NHL owners have never been overly concerned about how the game is played.



## BOXING

# Racism sells boxing match tickets

By Mark Naison

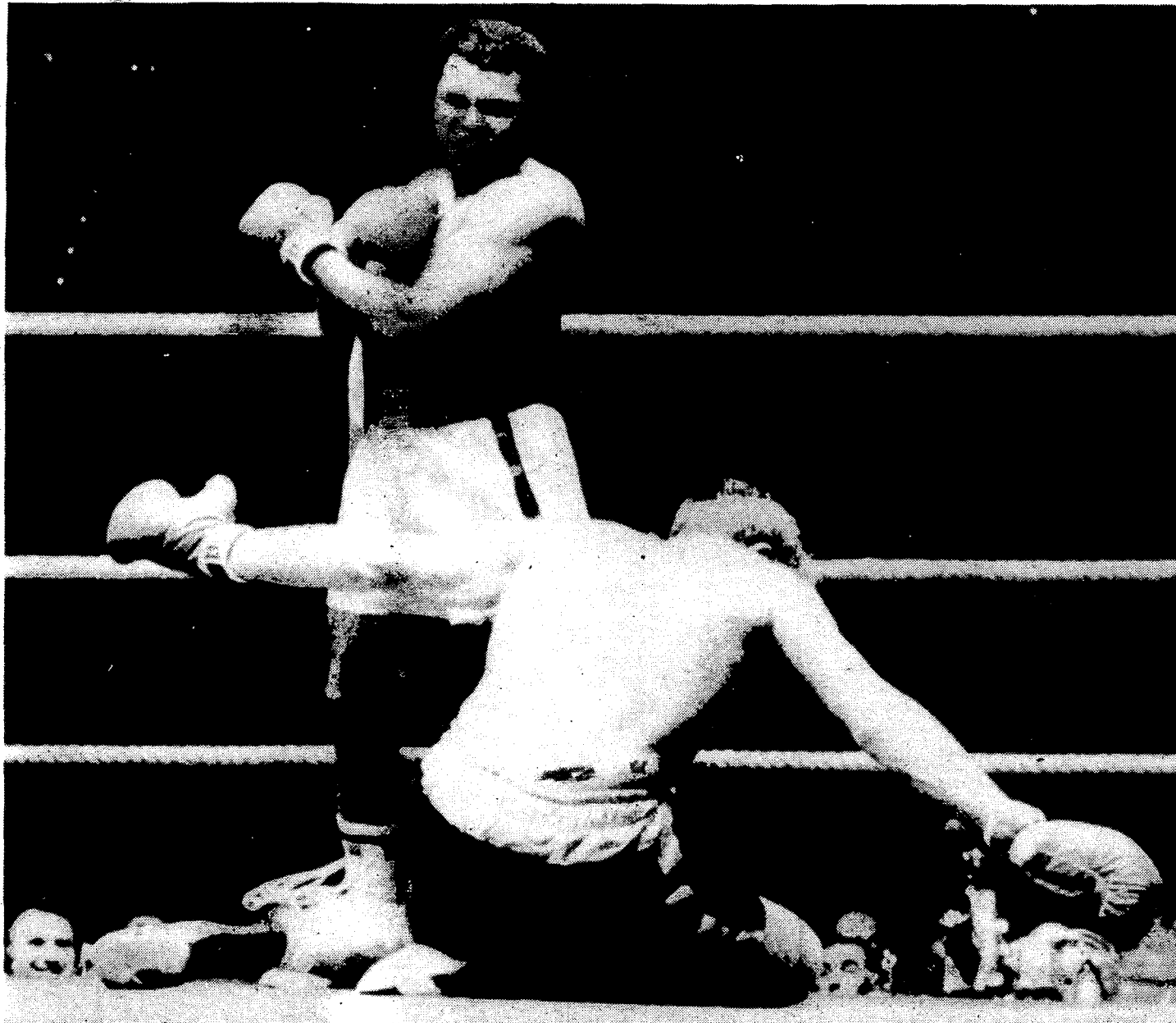
**D**ESPITE PROMISES OF MASS demonstrations from Jesse Jackson and the NAACP, it now looks like two South African fighters, Kallie Knoetze and Gerrie Coetzee, will be the hottest properties in the heavyweight division. After Knoetze's destruction of Bill Sharkey in a nationally televised contest, fighter, promoters, and network executives are leaping over one another to get the South Africans into a ring.

World Boxing Council champion Larry Holmes, who two months ago declared that he would "never get in a ring with a South African," now claims he is anxious to fight Knoetze to "teach him a lesson." World Boxing Association promoter Bob Arum, who rose to prominence as Muhammed Ali's attorney, is planning a gala elimination tournament to find Ali's successor, featuring Coetzee, Knoetze, Leon Spinks and Duane Bobick. ABC and CBS have both expressed interest in televising the event.

Ironically, the enthusiasm with which boxing moguls are promoting the South African fighters can be in large part attributed to the example of Muhammad Ali. Although Ali symbolized skill, courage and political principle to millions of his fans, he taught a very different lesson to promoters and network executives: the marketability of racial hostility. By injecting a political or racial angle into every one of his fights, Ali vastly increased the audiences for his performances. The invective that Ali heaped upon his opponents ("white hopes," "uncle toms"), and the ethnic slurs he threw around so freely (such as his denunciation of Puerto Ricans after the Wepner fight, and of Italians and Jews following the second Spinks fight) made Ali's fights political events that brought out people's fears and hostilities and—in the process—filled the seats.

In the half year since Ali has retired, promoters have demonstrated that they will go to extraordinary lengths to manufacture ethnic or political drama. Don King productions, operating out of Madison Square Garden, has put together a series of programs matching fighters from antagonistic Latin American countries, with an occasional black-white confrontation thrown in for spice. The result: packed houses and several near riots.

Bob Arum, not to be outdone, then decided to develop a promotion based on the Arab-Israeli conflict. He proposed a match between Ali and light heavyweight champ Mike Rossman, to be held in the Mideast and billed (somewhat in-



Muhammad Ali punches Richard Dunn in a 1976 fight.

accurately, since Rossman is half Jewish) as a battle of "Moslem Against Jew." Fortunately, Ali balked at the thought of coming out of retirement to fight someone 50 pounds lighter than him, but that only made Arum (and others) turn to the world's next biggest political hot spot, Southern Africa.

Here, promoters, always looking for the "great white hope," found a goldmine: two white heavyweights who could actually fight. Kallie Knoetze—a South

African ex-policeman who knocked out the American white hope, Duane Bobick, in three rounds—is probably the first white heavyweight since Jerry Quarry who is a legitimate title contender.

Built along the lines of George Foreman, Knoetze has the punching power to beat anyone on a given night, though he would probably lose to a skilled boxer like Larry Holmes, or an equally strong, but quicker, Ken Norton. Gerrie Coetzee is not as powerful as Knoetze, but is quick

and rangy enough to make a good showing against almost anyone in the rather weak crop of heavyweights fighting today.

The talents of these two fighters, and their ethnic origins (both are Afrikaners) make them guaranteed controversy every time they fight. Not only will they inspire the normal black-white antagonisms that interracial boxing matches engender, they will bring to the surface feelings about the fate of whites in South Africa that deeply polarize the American public.

## Lightweights show more talent

By Joe Heumann

**E**VEN THOUGH MOST U.S. BOXING fans are still enamored of the big boys of the heavyweight division, the best boxers and the best boxing has been coming from lighter-weight categories and from other American nations.

The best boxing has to offer, for skilled fighters and great fighting, is in the lower weight classes. Take Roberto Duran, the best boxer of the last five years. Duran, lightweight champ since June 1972, has now decided to try for both the Junior Welterweight and Welterweight titles in the coming year. Judging by his record (64-1, 52 knockouts) and his performances, he might do it.

Duran's nickname is Manos de Piedra, or Stone-Hands, and he is the national hero of Panama. His story is a carbon copy of many Hollywood fight films of the '30s and '40s. Found as a brawling street urchin, the young man was turned into a world champ before his twenty-first birthday, winning all his fights by using a relentless, pressing style that never allows opponents a moment's rest. Duran's intensity is overpowering; he loves what he does and has no room for clowning or showboating. His business-like manner reveals a love for the ring and his step into the heavier classes was

done for two reasons: Duran is having trouble getting down to 135 pounds (he's grown in seven years since taking the title) and no one in the lightweight field really wants to step into the ring with him.

### Boxing champs greatly boost national pride.

Duran's departure will open up the title for a number of fighters. Olympian Howard Davis and Alexis Arguello (a Nicaraguan who is now Junior Lightweight champ, and once was Featherweight champ) will try to take over the championship slot, so this weight class will not remain stagnant for very long.

Duran's move into the Welterweight division will not offer him clear sailing. His most serious competition is World Boxing Association champ Pipino Cuevas, a 21-year-old Mexican, whose style is as explosive as the Panamanian's. Cuevas is the most popular fighter in Mexico. Thousands of fans show up to see him train. If these two men meet, many predict the best fight since the last Frazier-Ali. Add new World Boxing Council champion Wilfredo Benitez

(only 20 years old and the youngest man ever to win a pro title, when he won the Junior Welterweight crown at 17) and the man he just outboxed for the title, Carlos Palomino, and you have just scratched the surface of the most talented class in all of boxing (Sugar Ray Leonard and Thomas Hearns of Detroit are two young challengers who bear watching.)

The featherweight class is also strong. Danny "Little Red" Lopez will soon be facing Wilfredo Gomez, if match-makers have their way. Gomez is 22 years old (22-0-1 with 22 knockouts) and currently is outgrowing his Super Bantamweight title belt. His last fight was against the great Mexican Bantamweight champion, Carlos Zarate (50-1). Zarate, who is 5'9" tall, went up a division to meet Gomez and was knocked out in the fifth round of a very exciting fight.

An enormous amount of talent exists today in the sport of boxing. The lighter weights have always been distinguished by non-stop action, skilled boxers and great heroics, qualities not always found in the upper strata of the fight game. Further, these champions are sources of great national pride. When and if Duran faces Cuevas, it will be Mexico lining up against Panama. Flags will fly and money will pass hands with incredible speed, and two men who are extremely skilled and determined will engage in a dramatic contest.

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# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## TELEVISION DOCUMENTARIES

### U.S.-Soviet co-production makes clichéd war history

By Lenny Rubinstein

Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union entered World War II late, well after the fall of France and the conquest of the Balkans. Both nations preferred an armed neutrality, but suffered agonizing defeats as their introductions to the war. Both also emerged as the dominant powers in the post-war world.

Most Americans are carefully schooled in their country's two-front war: the landings in the Mediterranean and Normandy, as well as the island-to-island fighting in the Pacific. Few people know about the Russians' awesome sacrifice of 20 million dead, and fewer still about the Red Army's destruction of 300 German divisions. A Soviet-American co-production for television, *The Unknown War* (Air Time International) is designed to dispell ignorance. Unfortunately, the program suffers from the features of an officially authorized compilation documentary.

As military history, *The Unknown War* is woefully lopsided. It takes two sides to win or lose a battle, but only the Soviet side of the military ledger book is consulted. The narration ignores the details of the *Wehrmacht's* onslaught, material readily available from post-war memoirs and regimental diaries. There is also a singular reluctance to admit the serious mistakes made by the Red Army leadership in the opening weeks of the war, errors that were measured in encircled divisions and captured cities.

Along with this historical myopia goes a preference for commonplace wartime newsreel footage. Most of it consists of racing Panzers and half-tracks, while overhead squadrons of Stukas dive relentlessly at their targets—all too traditional and familiar imagery. The Soviet filmmakers who edited the wartime sequences relied on shots of recruits being called to the colors and columns of troops, many with old fashioned rifles, advancing toward a crumbling front line. The Russian footage lacks some of the dynamic quality of the captured German material, because a beleaguered army under serious attack or in retreat doesn't film too well.

Roman Karmen, the dean of Soviet documentary production until his recent death, is credited with the direction of the series. Not only was Karmen a Red Army cameraman during the war, but he was also responsible for editing a number of documentary "albums" assembled from various parts of the 1,500-mile front.

#### Stilted warfare.

The Russians were so interested in filming the war, that they re-enacted some key moments from that four-year struggle. British film researchers have expressed doubts about much of the Soviet footage when assembling *The World at War*, and footage is there that could not possibly belong in its edited time and place in the series. Inaccuracy is one of



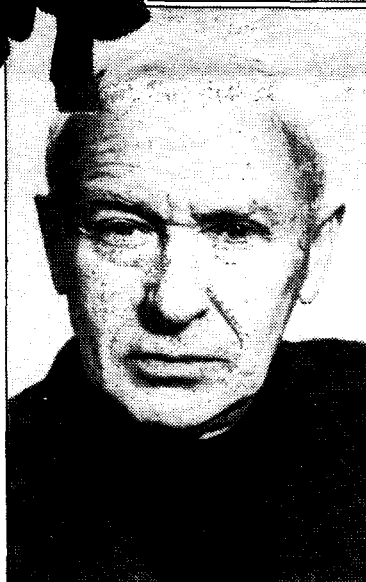
Above: Refugees flee Stalingrad. Right: Director Roman Karmen.

***This documentary of the Eastern Front ignores the key role of socialist industry in out-producing the German war machine.***

the prices paid for the careless use of footage; equally important is its dulling effect.

The program's interviews are stilted and pedestrian; we hear high ranking Soviet officers, their caps and tunics loaded with gold braid and medals, describe their victories in sequences that look as if they were part of other films. When Burt Lancaster, the on-screen narrator for the American version of the series, appears, he defers politely to the military and never asks a hard question, and he doesn't interview any of their German counterparts.

This insular quality also affects the war's chronology as presented in the program. Although the Jews of Kiev were massacred at Babi Yar shortly after that city's fall in 1941, the episode that discusses that fearsome mass murder does it in the context of Kiev's liberation more than two years later. The Soviet Jews did comprise less than a tenth of the country's losses, but the program ignores the deadly immediacy with which the SS Special Action Squads followed in the wake of the German Army. Equally avoided is the wide-spread collaboration of Baltic and Ukrainian peoples who initially welcomed the *Wehrmacht* as their savior from



Stalin, at least until Himmler's SS occupied their territory.

Of the Soviet Union's 20 million dead, only half died in combat; the rest were mistreated prisoners of war and murdered civilians. Those dead were proof of the savagery in a war that pitted Adolf Hitler's National Socialism against Josef Stalin's Communism. It was as awesome a test as could be imagined, a test won by the Soviet Union only with aid from the Western powers. That victory owed much, however, to a socialist industrial base that outproduced Krupp and Thyssen tank for tank and gun for gun. The program's American narration ignores the socialist foundation for that industry as well as its Stalinist costs.

The Russo-German war converted the Soviet Union into one of the world's super-powers, with hegemony over central Europe. Accompanying that conversion, however, was a torrent of blood and fire that left few Russian families unscathed. Tragic in its toll of lives, dramatic in the nature of its combatants and momentous in its effects, the war in the east exerted a fascination on those who saw it. *The Unknown War* captures only a minimal part of that allure.

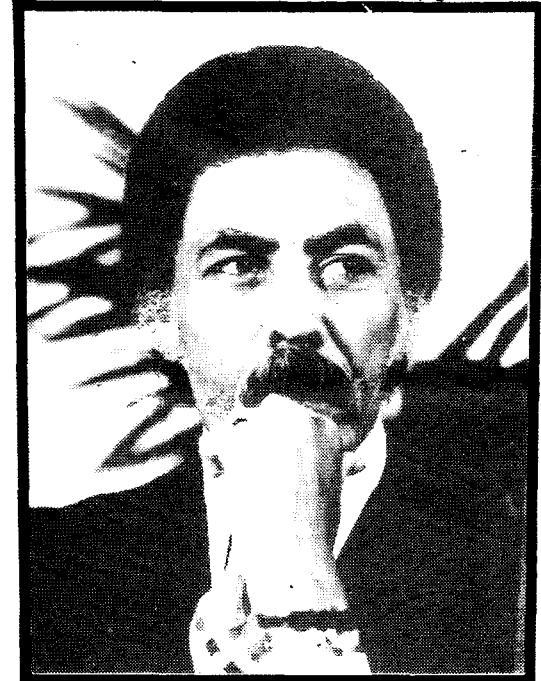
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## INTERNATIONAL FILM

## Slums and skylines clash in Iranian film

By Lynn Garafola

*Le Cycle*, a 1974 Iranian film, has been attracting attention in Paris and New York. Recent events in Iran give Darius Mehrjui's indictment of corruption in Iran's medical establishment particular immediacy. In its juxtaposition of shanty-towns and neon skylines, misery and advanced technology, *Le Cycle* depicts a society tottering between chaos and modernization, hurtling toward an uncertain future.

Mehrjui frames his critique as a picaresque study in moral deterioration. The protagonist, an 18-year-old naïf named Ali, emerges from the dusty outskirts of Tehran with his ailing father. The two are bound for the neon boulevards of the capital in search of a doctor for the old man and a livelihood for the son. In their journey through the byways of Iran's medical world, they discover a system thoroughly corrupt in its operation, one that from top to bottom cares less for

minding the sick than protecting its own interests.

The promise of money lures the two to a "laboratory," where drug addicts and bums, picked up by truckbeds from the city's Skid Rows, squat in corridors of indescribable squalor as tubes draw blood from their arms for Tehran's hospitals. A racket as lucrative as it is repulsive, its existence exemplifies the greed and moral collusion that are the basis on which the veneer of Iran's "modernization" rests. Vested interests and hospital red tape have stalled indefinitely the establishment of a blood bank while society closes its eyes to the forgotten dregs who are the victims.

Through the good offices of a nurse whom Ali seduces and who, improbably, passes him off as her nephew, the old man secures an appointment with a doctor. For Ali she finds a succession of "jobs"—relaying messages from importunate suitors to nurses, accompanying a driver on a pick-up to make sure he doesn't short-change the hospital, selling stolen



Young men like Ali (left) discover in Tehran the corruption of uneven modernization.

food from the hospital kitchen in the squatter communities ringing the city. These induct him little by little into the moral climate of the system.

Ali's "education" continues as he observes from close range the pervasive institutionalized corruption. Doctors demand sexual favors from nurses; an archivist insists on bribes in exchange for patient files; the hospital director accepts a gift of fish for postponing a decision on a blood bank. Soon Ali himself, with glib promises and contempt, is ferrying truckbeds of human cargo to the blood mill. It is only a matter of time before he takes the last step toward full complicity with the system of which he was once a victim and goes to work as the director's assistant.

There are moments of great visual power in *Le Cycle*. The faces in the lab scenes, drained of life as their veins are drained of blood, are terrifyingly grim; the crowds waiting vainly on the hospital steps are as hopeless in their resignation as their brother have-nots are desperate in their huckstering; the shots that juxtapose the contrast between Tehran's modern skyline and the misery of its shantytowns are as telling as reams of explanatory prose about "development" that stops short of social restructuring.

Yet the impact of these scenes, like the film's critical thrust, is hampered by weaknesses in its script. Superfluous characters and subplots are introduced while loose threads, such as whether Ali's father dies from a transfusion of contaminated blood, are left inexplicably dangling.

The picaresque frame serves Mehrjui well in that it allows him to depict a variety of situations. It serves him less well in his hero. By casting Ali as an impressionable naïf, a child adrift in the sea of life, he denies him life. Ali remains a mere sketch of a character, unconscious of the meaning of his acts, incapable of insight into the people and world around him. His relationship with his father, which a defter director might have turned into a sensitive portrayal of how filial respect changes under the pressure of a rapidly moderniz-

ing, increasingly secular society, remains sullenly inarticulate.

More perturbing is the climate of pessimism that pervades the film. Mehrjui is unrelenting in his depiction of corruption: even the doctor who raises the film's lone voice of protest becomes slightly ridiculous. Mehrjui's cinematic universe is a closed circle allowing no escape—a succession of cycles that, as the title indicates, repeat themselves forever.

If *Le Cycle* disappoints because of what it could have been, it remains, nonetheless, a vivid document of Iran today, in sharp contrast to the glossy surface of Agnes Varda's *One Sings, The Other Doesn't*. In its images of exploitation and moral bankruptcy, social contrast and uneven modernization, it depicts a country ripe for change, on the eve of the events now coming to pass.

After last weekend's New York run, *Cycle*, with other films in an Iranian Film Festival, will be shown at Facets Multimedia in Chicago April 6-8, and will open in Boston March 17. Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave. S #1319, NYC 10003, distributes the film.

## CULTURE SHOCK

## PERHAPS A DRESS CODE

President of Radio-TV New Directors Association recently rapped TV crews for sloppy clothes and rude behavior at press conferences, saying some news conferences take on the character of a "junior high school lunch hour."

## ARS GRATIA ARTIS ETC.

What price integrity? *Variety* recently calculated that, in the case of *The Deer Hunter*, which runs over the two-hour time slot and so cuts out a showing per day, artistic integrity costs \$48,000 per week at one New York theater alone.

## REST IN BOMFOG

Nelson Rockefeller was so fond of ending campaign speeches with "the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God" that reporters took to shortening this to (and identifying other of Rocky's rhetoric as) "bom-fog."

## CLASSIFIED

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## POLITICAL FOLK SONG

# QUILAPAYUN

## SINGERS TAKE JARA'S ADVICE: WORK!

By Douglas Clark

Rodolfo Parada, 32, a member of Quilapayun since 1967, and Willie Oddo, another long-standing member of the group, talked with Doug Clark in Eugene, Ore.

*What was it like being part of the New Chilean Song movement during the '60s?*

Rodolfo Parada: It was, above all, a very great responsibility. We wanted to create a new culture based on the aspirations of the people. The artists tried to represent the interests of the people, and the people supported their artists.

*How did you establish this rapport?*

RP: There was an organization created to organize tours for the artists. There were concerts at the factories, the copper mines, coal mines, universities, theaters, etc. The artists always participated in political rallies; the national trade union provided means for the artists to go to the factories, and left-wing people at the universities helped too.

*How did Victor Jara influence Quilapayun?*

Willie Oddo: The most important thing Victor taught us, I think, is how to work seriously. Most of us began singing for pleasure. And Victor showed us that to really give something to the people we had to work, work and work. To give something you must first acquire it. And he showed us how to open ourselves to every influence and how to be able to express exactly these feelings we were able to catch from the people.

*Is the political content more important to you than the music itself?*

RP: We are artists. We are not politicians. We try to express in our art a popular content, and that includes politics. A professional artist must be faithful to art. And a political message is valid only if the work is artistically valid. Our responsibility is not to put into music some political message but to be faithful to art.

*How did the New Chilean Song movement change when Allende was elected?*

RP: We had more opportunities. Before the Popular Government, we had organizations helping us but not the government itself. Allende wanted to help the development of our national culture. He got the legislature to pass a law that established that 40 percent of the music played on the radio ought to be national music. And of this, 50 percent was to be folk music.

Allende also created a Depart-

ment of Culture. That never existed before in our country. This department helped the artists to develop—for instance, by sending them abroad to make our culture known in other countries and also to broaden their perspective. We didn't want to be isolated. The Allende government also financed new groups in the trade unions, the universities, in community organizations—not only musical groups, but theater, dance, mime and so on.

We continued to represent the interests of the people, but the situation was different. The artists sang about the nationalization of the industries, the redistribution of the land, and other measures of the government. We also warned people about the dangers of the Right.

*What is the state of the New Chilean Song movement today?*

RP: We describe it as a body with



Victor Jara sang his innovative music in Chile's shantytowns as well as auditoriums.

two arms. One arm is inside of Chile and the other arm outside. In spite of the repression, the Chileans have won the first battle: that is, to keep the popular expression alive. In the first year of the junta it was forbidden to play the quena, charango, zampones, etc. [the indigenous instruments of Chile]. But the people found ways to outwit the junta. For instance, one of the first groups created after the coup played baroque music on folk instruments. So it was very hard for the junta to forbid the music of Bach or Vi-

valdi. After a year, musicians won the right to play these folk instruments.

Now many groups in Chile continue to develop our music. We keep in contact through correspondence, cassettes and musicians who have come out of Chile. We also send cassettes of our concerts and records. This is all underground, of course. It is completely forbidden for a store to sell our records in Chile. Daily international radio broadcasts also carry information to Chile. This tour is broadcast, for instance.

*How has your music changed in exile?*

RP: We are more confident in our aesthetic opinion; we know what we want in music and poetry. We perform more of our own songs now and not so many by other people.

We are trying to maintain our national culture, trying to keep alive the spirit of solidarity, trying to make people understand the reality we live. We want to make them concerned about the Chilean situation and to make them act.

## 'NEW SONG' LIVES, GROWS IN EXILE

By Cynthia Brown

The Chilean musical group Quilapayun makes its third visit here this month in 14 U.S. and two Canadian concerts (running until March 19). Their concerts pay homage to Victor Jara, Chile's singer-poet, whose widow Joan will accompany the group to speak briefly about her husband's life and music. Also joining Quilapayun for specific concerts are U.S. popular artists; among others, Jane Fonda, Jon Voigt, Peter, Paul and Mary, Pete Seeger, Studs Terkel, Lee Grant and Ed Asner.

Quilapayun has been celebrating the eloquence and power of popular song for 14 years. Using indigenous stringed, wind and percussion instruments, the seven-man group constantly expands its repertoire as new forms are mastered and new songs written.

The group's musical diversity is as astonishing as the high quality of its synthesis. A lullaby, "Duerme, Negrito," with its cooling harmonies and gentle Caribbean rhythm, may be followed by the Afro-Cuban energy of "La Batea" (The Washboard) in a version that mocks the Chilean junta. Sung in seamless harmony, Victor Jara's "Plegaria a un Labrador" (Prayer to a Peasant) communicates intense longing and determination.

A light-hearted instrumental piece that the group wrote in thanks to the French people imi-

and political caricatures form the basis of original songs.

### New song.

Quilapayun is a leading interpreter of Chilean New Song, a movement for national cultural expression that reached its height during Allende's Popular Unity government. New Song combined lyrics about political and social issues, often expressed in a very personal way, with traditional folk music elements. The music dramatically rejected imitative, English-lyric songs that had dominated the cultural marketplace.

Interest in the roots of popular music developed during the '60s throughout Latin America. Especially in Cuba, popular music complemented social change, but the movement also appeared in Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay and other countries.

In Chile, pioneering singer-folklorist Violeta Parra lay the base for New Song's development, and the Allende government officially promoted authentic Chilean music. Folklore came to express national social change, not only in music, but in dance, painting and poetry. Despite a largely right-wing media's refusal to acknowledge it, New Song was so popular that the Quilapayun easily filled Chilean stadia of 15,000.

After the coup, New Song was banned. But Quilapayun stays in touch with Chilean musicians by shortwave broadcasts and underground cassette tapes, and Chilean musicians have grown bolder in reviving the style (if not the explicit content) of New Song.

### Spreading the word.

Quilapayun began as three university students in Santiago, playing newly rediscovered folk songs at coffee houses. In 1965 they formally adopted their name,

which means "three bearded men" in Araucanian, the language of the major indigenous culture in Chile.

By 1969, with added members, they were Chile's foremost musical group; they had sung in universities, in northern mining areas and in farming regions. They had toured internationally and won several Chilean prizes, including one for the high sales of their first album, *Por Vietnam*.

The already-famous Victor Jara was the group's artistic director and guiding force during its first four years. More than any other single musician, Jara represented New Song's blend of cultural energy and social commitment. As early as 1958 he was performing Chilean folk songs, and his style influenced many other writers.

Quilapayun—like many other cultural groups and artists—toured Chile in 1970 supporting Allende for president. During the Allende era, Quilapayun started a school to teach New Song, to cultivate an emerging national folklore. The original group helped start six new groups, all called Quilapayun, to play New Song in different areas and to carry on the creation of new musical styles based on regional culture.

In August 1973, Allende named the group Cultural Ambassador for Chile, and they were abroad on diplomatic tour at the time of the coup, during which Jara was murdered. Since then, Quilapayun has performed in 30 countries.

Victor Jara, asked to describe revolutionary music, defined it like this: "I am talking about the most noble, the simplest, the deepest and most authentic expression of our people—be it a cantata, a symphony, aleatory music, or a simple song with a guitar." Quilapayun shares Jara's vision, and continues to experi-



## Quilapayun started similar groups all over Chile during the Allende years.

tates sounds of a working class quarter in Paris (where they have lived since 1973): the whistles, the trains, the carousel and organ-grinder, the stops and starts—played on Andean flutes. The group has also mastered the cantata, a mixture of poetry and song that portrays a historical incident—such as the 1907 massacre of Chilean nitrate workers—combining popular song with the structure of a classical oratorio. And fragments of Pablo Neruda's poetry, witchcraft sayings,



## Only some of God's children got shows.

There are two sagas in *Roots: The Next Generations (Roots II)*. The first is the story of the free descendants of Kunta Kinte. The second, less heralded, saga is the history of black people after the Civil War.

In *Roots I*, the common experience of enslavement, the trans-oceanic voyage, "breaking-in" and slave status joined the saga of Haley's family and all Afro-Americans. *Roots II* acknowledges that freedom produced a divergence. But shaping *Roots II* is the idea that social change—here, racial progress—emerged from family loyalties and recollections, and not from the ability of people to form more powerful bonds based upon race, ethnicity and class.

In *Roots II*, the nuclear family triumphs over the traditional family and modern politics; the series celebrates individual mobility. By confusing rising upwards from the ranks with "the African" is concept of freedom and contemporary popular aspirations, *Roots II* distorts the second, and more important, saga of black people.

The plot dwells on choosing spouses and having children. External, political crises occasionally interrupt domestic life. Family members invoke, ritually, the precedent of Kunta Kinte. But the situations are American, not African, and are revealed in the words and actions of strong American black patriarchs, whose leadership structures *Roots II* during the late 19th century, pre-World War I, and inter-war periods.

Tom, a blacksmith, great-grandson of the African, establishes the family's economic place in young, growing Henning, Tenn., in 1870. Will Palmer marries Tom's daughter Cynthia in 1893, and becomes the owner of a lumber company. Will and Cynthia's only child Bertha marries the third family leader, Simon Alexander Haley, who will become a professor of agriculture. (Alex Haley is the son of Bertha and Simon.) Each of them exercises a skill not only useful to the elite, but also likely to inhibit political expression. And their stories are offered as racial leadership in the eras they dominate.

Throughout the series, political and collective actions are downplayed, denigrated, or judged futile. We were not shown the mass politics of antislavery or Reconstruction in *Roots I*. And in *Roots II* politics in Henning is elitist manipulation.

Of course, some selection from history is always necessary. The problem in *Roots II* is not that Haley's recollections of his family's history are impoverished. The problem is that ABC's choices are consistently biased to draw apolitical conclusions.

Black politics in *Roots II* is usually personal intervention. For instance, although we were not shown the mass politics of Reconstruction that won public education, we see Tom's personal stand in defense of black education. The country's leading Democrat wants to close the black school for personal reasons—his son wishes to marry the black school teacher. Prodded by Tom's daughter Elizabeth's invocation of the memory of the African, Tom refuses to replace the teacher. The militance legitimizes Tom's racial leadership, but it obscures the truth that public money was the best assurance of adequate black education in the 19th century South.

Tom's daughter Cynthia's marriage to Will Palmer, an ambitious son of a sharecropper, continues the family tradition. A hard worker, Palmer is eventually rewarded. His employer, the lumberyard owner, is a drunkard. He dies with large debts to the town's leading businessmen, who decide to loan Will the money to purchase the lumberyard, which is the only way to redeem their investment. Like Horatio, Alger heroes, *Roots'* heroes are rewarded through fortuitous interventions, not the hard labor itself.



by Judith Stein

The businessmen's decision occurs immediately after a black man is lynched because he revealed his gun in a tense scene in which the local politicians refuse to allow the aged Tom to register to vote. The message is clear: Acceptance of white patronage for black business is the only path when militance means death. Will's decision means to fulfill his own ambitions, is celebrated as progress for the race.

The series instructs us that populism was a false path, by inaccurately placing the plan for black disenfranchisement in the mouth of a white populist leader. Just as we are shown that blacks are personally strong, but politically weak, we are told that there is a social basis for class politics, but they will always be frustrated by racism. But the resurgence of black politics in the 1890s was dependent upon a white farmers' challenge, which demonstrated the ability to overcome racial divisions. The feared potency of this class challenge, reinforced by the national response to the crisis of the 1890s, led to disenfranchisement.

Because the underlying politics are not even scratched, Tom's decision to challenge the new ways becomes an isolated act to attain a symbolic and abstract free-

dom. Because men in large numbers rarely risk their lives for symbolic freedoms, the significance of disenfranchisement is lost.

Typical of the 20th century black middle class, third patriarch Simon Haley rises through education. Like Will Palmer, Haley possesses the virtues of American heroes, but rises through good fortune after his character is established. While working one summer as a Pullman car porter, he wins the admiration of a rich, white Northerner, who finances his college education.

Simon's only family relations reveal more typical, and potentially poignant, truths of family life. Although willing, initially, to help his son obtain an education, Simon's father refuses to continue after he experiences two years of bad crops; he needs his son's labor. The father's conception of family is a more traditional one of the working class where economic insecurity requires pooling and sharing, not individual mobility. But the portrayal of the father as backward and without vision makes it clear where our sympathies should lie.

The costs of social mobility are minimized in *Roots*. For instance, after Simon's father's death, his mother must work

and live in with a white family. The conflict is resolved, facilely, by her appearance at Simon's wedding. She tells him that his achievements redeem the suffering.

The tension appeared earlier, in a political form, when Simon was working on the railroad. Simon's educational plans are challenged, briefly, when an older porter, fired for expressing interest in a union, decides to devote his life to creating one. The old man frees Simon from guilt when he tells him that it is more important for Simon to obtain an education. It is perhaps more promising for Simon to do this. But to purvey the myth that the making of a black professor of agriculture was more significant for the race than the unionization of Pullman car porters is to mock history.

Throughout *Roots II*, black militants, stepping out of character, absolve Haley heroes of responsibilities for collective action. The decisions of the family heads are understandable. But they are not synonymous with racial process, and that is implied.

The role of agriculture professors in the Great Depression is shaped to justify Simon's decision. The idea of resolving the problems of agricultural poverty through education is refuted simply by the sharecropper Ab Decker, who informs Simon that the land he farms is not his. But after the passage of New Deal agricultural legislation, Simon urges him to assert his rights to a government subsidy. In fact, the AAA did not guarantee payments to sharecroppers. To the administration, landlord-tenant relations were local issues. When Haley is on holiday in Hennings, Decker demands his check. Deputies seize his property and wound him, despite Haley's last-minute efforts to prevent the violence. Simon, using personal influence with the country agent, obtains the check and the cropper's gratitude and trust.

The confrontation, though not its resolution, follows events in Nate Shaw's autobiography, *All God's Dangers*, which has not been televised. As Shaw portrays life in depression Alabama, the novelty of the 1930s that won assertion of rights was the formation of a sharecroppers' union. The union was inspired by a black organizer from the Communist Party, not a teacher from adjacent Tuskegee. This incident thus minimizes the abilities of sharecroppers, exaggerates the role of the educated elite, and erases the new forces of potent change.

Simon Haley is the last of the patriarchs, moving on to teach in North Carolina. And his sons are scattered to follow careers. Wrapped up in a search for a career, fulfillment, and parental approval, Alex Haley decides to become a writer. Interviews with Malcolm X and writing Malcolm's autobiography are steps on the way to the decision to reconstruct his family's history from its African roots.

Haley has offered different accounts of his motivation—examination of the Rosetta Stone in England, the questions posed by the X in Malcolm's name, a contract for his own autobiography, and others. All of them would have been insufficient to complete *Roots* had there not been a market for the endeavor, created by debates on the black family, foundation support for family studies, the ending of the more militant phase of black politics, and the consolidation of the new power of the black middle class, whose methods are portrayed in *Roots II*.

Haley's final injunction is to interview our aged relatives and to launch family reunions. But Haley's solution is singular. It is even more distant from the problems of most black people than the earlier injunctions of his patriarch ancestors. ■ Judith Stein teaches Afro-American history at City College of New York.

Other reactions to *Roots* will appear in an upcoming issue.